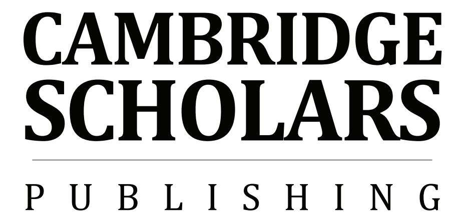
From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress

From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans (XVIth-XXth Centuries)

Edited by

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu



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INTRODUCTION

Clothes and fashion have a long and a fairly rich history. Specialized publications appeared already in the sixteenth century, ready to satisfy any taste or curiosity. Lou Taylor believes that four were the reasons behind the development of this “industry” of images of clothes and clothing that spread over the civilized world: the fascination with the barbarian and the “savage”, the thirst for information about new peoples, an European and romantic curiosity for all things exotic and oriental, an interest in the garments of all social categories in rural and urban Europe (Taylor 2004, 5). The essays in the present volume are built around these four motivations, adding scholarly rigour matched by skilful analyses. The reader shall discover a completely different history of clothes, varying across time and regions. Scholars from different backgrounds: sociology, anthropology, history, ethnography, visual arts and music have researched clothes and fashion. Clothes are analysed, measured, exposed, and they continue to open paths of investigation for several other disciplines1.

For centuries, fashion history has stirred interest: clothes were “photographed” and their images were allowed to wander into the world in catalogues and in albums, or in travel journals. Heading towards 'exotic' lands, naturalists, doctors, historians, scholars have always accepted the companionship of painters, lithographs, illuminations, engravers, that is of the 'specialists' who expressed in colours the written image of the worlds they visited and of the people they encountered. Owing to the European fascination for the Orient, already manifest in the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire too became an area of interest, even though modern research has not yet invested as much interest in Levantine clothes as it has done, for instance, for French or English 'fashion'. And if one considers the Balkans, scholarly research remains still marginal, even though certain crucial primary sources are available. Ever since the

[1] This volume builds on a symposium I organized at the Institute for Advanced Studies “New Europe College”, Bucharest, 13-14 June, 2008. My special thanks for their support are addressed to Anca Oroveanu (Academic Director of New Europe College) and Marina Hasnaş (Economic Director of New Europe College). I would also like to thank Lelia Ciobotariu, Alina Hera and all the New Europe College staff for helping me with the preparation of the colloquium.

Renaissance, both visual information concerning the costumes of different nations, and histories of their 'wearers' have been printed in the great cities, and then circulated all across Europe. Through the mediation of these restless engravers, painters, observers or mere consuls, costumes originating in different regions of the Balkans or other parts of the Ottoman Empire became part of the international circuit. Several stereotypes were thus created (Thornton 1994a; Todorova 1997; Wolff 1994), while the curiosity of people who did not travel was also satisfied by the various images and prints. To whom were they of use? What were those writings good for? What reaction did they provoke?

The “discovery of the other” was at the heart of publishing such costume books, because the images offered the possibility to observe the 'stranger', the ‘alien’ other from up close. Thus one could also grasp costumes, tastes, and “a language of the body and the manners” behind the physical traits (Mentges 2007: 12). In many cases these prints and costume books are the only iconographic source concerning a specific piece of clothing, a jewel, or a fashionable colour from a certain Balkan region. We also believe that many of the questions relating to the history of the Balkans could find an answer in the analysis of the gestures, manners, and customs linked to garments. The recurrence of these Western sources, the passing of the images and even of the information from an author to another, the increasing numbers of travellers through the Balkans during the modern era, all prove that this part of the world was of interest not only to the diplomats but also to a larger public hungry for curiosities and diversity. Some images were better known than others, compiled, introduced, and adapted, in order to illustrate more and more costume books on the manners of the nations of the less known empires of the modern world.

Giulia Calvi writes about Nicolas de Nicolay’s engravings, turned into “icons of the Balkans” while Robert Born investigates the role those costume books played in the Transylvanian games of power. Jean-Pierre Lethuillier shows how François Hippolyte Lalaisse’s lithographs contributed decisively to the knowledge of a regional costume permeated by the economic and social characteristics of an epoch and of a region. Although it discusses a region remote from the Balkans, Lethuillier’s study provides a bridgehead for all those costume books and albums on fashion and manners, as well as a comparative method of analysing and interpreting them, always taking into account their utility in a specific context. One should not neglect the political and educational role of these costume books: many regions were subject to different political regimes and their peoples had various religions. Not everybody could venture into

the turbulent Balkans where the Turks reigned, especially since they had been seen as enemies of Christian civilization for a long time. Some of these costume books were just illustrated reports on the social and political situation of those regions. By means of the images, the reader was offered the possibility to place a different region on the map, to visualize another way of life, to compare manners and attitudes in different cultural contexts. For example, costume books dealing with Transylvania, a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional region, were intensively used in order to address the issue of tolerance or to state the pre-eminence of an ethnic group in the detriment of another (Robert Born).

Some images illustrated the moderation of the foreigners in order to point to the profligacy of the viewer. However, the reverse moral lesson was also possible using the same image where the moderate and modest Christian tradition was opposed to the barbarian, whose opulence satisfies his vanity and lack of moral principles.

Sumptuary laws transcend the ages, aiming to put a hold to luxury, or to ensure the pre-eminence of a certain colour for a certain social class (Michel Pastoureau 2004: 179). In fact, they confer visibility to a specific social category and contribute to imposing a symbolic and specific power. Naturally, within a polychrome system some colours were more important than others, used by certain social categories to differentiate themselves. For example, the colour red used by the Moldavian boyars was considered most suited to deliver "the idea of pomp and power" (Maria-Magdalena Szekely). Red was used in all contexts, from clothes to the velvet in the throne hall, and to the red rugs of the metropolitan cathedrals.

The same red colour can be found among the preferences of the Transylvanian nobility, where the distribution of colours actually reflected the social hierarchy (Robert Born), but also in Hungary or Croatia, where all those at the top of the social pyramid chose red and ignored black (which had strict ritual uses). This choice of colours amazed Cesare Vecellio greatly, as he was a painter accustomed to the dusky clothes of Western Europe (Giulia Calvi). The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought a certain 'tolerance' (Maria-Magdalena Szekely) toward the distribution of colours, even if the sumptuary laws kept haunting some societies, assigning colours, shapes, qualities to certain social categories or ranks, only to become obsolete and inoperable eventually. When a Wallachian prince tried to claim the exclusive use of white satin for himself and for his family, the law was in fact powerless. As soon as the interdiction was read out loud throughout the fairs and markets of Bucharest, Tarsița Filipescu, a member of an important and influential boyar family, put on the turban, the satin dress and the whitest *giubea* (a

very expensive long coat) and set out for a promenade in her carriage, directly under the windows of the princely palace. The reprimand followed immediately, yet it did not have the effect of yore. (Urechia 1902: 298, January 21st, 1817).

The discovery of the Orient and of the Oriental fashion through Charles Ferriol or Jean-Etienne Liotard prompted many others to make the voyage to Constantinople, with stops in Zagreb, Belgrade, Sofia, Iaşi, Bucharest, Edirne, Athens, Nicosia, Bursa. Travellers were keen to taste the cuisine of these peoples, akin to the Oriental tastes by then, to note on the run the exotic, to grasp the differences, to admire richness of local costumes, to wonder at the omnipresent luxury, to criticize their filth, to misunderstand their way of life, and then to travel onward. Once on the stalls of the shops in Vienna, Paris, London or Venice, depictions in images and words satisfied the avidity of a population eager to feed its imagination with miraculous tales from a so “far” world. For instance, Jean-Etienne Liotard returned from Constantinople wearing an oriental suit, which he then made known through Monsieur Levett or Mademoiselle Glavani (1738-1741) (Thornton 1994b: 10). Liotard's model was followed by Lady Elisabeth Craven, Lady Mary Montague, Sir Robert ker Porter or Antonie Demidov, etc. They, and others like them, who chose to wear parts of the Oriental suit: *şalvari* (Ottoman baggy pants), turban, slippers, or jewels (Jirousek 2005).

Starting with the 19th century, this fascination with the Orient was furthered also by political interests of the Western powers, just as the Ottoman Empire was growing weaker. A genuine cultural interest however should not be underestimated. The age of the nations left its clear mark on many Balkan peoples, and Paris, London or Vienna sent their emissaries to gather information from the Balkans. As a consequence, a number of magazines and journals offered periodically news of all sorts from these parts of the world. L*’Illustration, Illustrierte Zeitung, The Illustrated London News,* to mention just a few of the 'specialized' magazines, provided an illustrated chronicle of the peoples from the Balkans in everlasting turmoil, eager to free and emancipate themselves.

The use of the clothes in a social discourse highlights certain details in order to enhance the differences in dressing and to mark social differences. Nicole Pellegrin has argued that clothes are “le meilleurs ‘révélateur’ du fonctionnement social“, and shows how its three functions – a material possession, an investment, a language – have their own temporality and “pertinently” indicate change (Pellegrin 1993: 85). Thus, even if it belongs to Oriental apparel, present and “imposed” in this Balkan world, the garment became “individual”, always saying something about its owner.

For the Balkan political and social elite who did not have coats of arms and a heraldic or genealogical past, portraits were important means of social representation. The eighteenth-nineteenth centuries were the time of an important collection of portraits in which the elite, in search of an identity, accepted to be 'photographed' while always wearing the signs of a personal individualization within a social category: the dagger or the very expensive jewels, the ermine fur or the *calpac* (high hat), the *işlic* (high hat) or the caftan, the yellow *meşi* (slipper) or the red *ceacşiri* (baggy breeches).

Indeed, once included into the Ottoman political system, the subject and protégé was granted the (mandatory) right to wear yellow saffian slippers as those of the Turks (Euphrosyne Egoumenidou). That is why the clothes were the trademark of a political regime, but they also acquired symbolic connotations, as their colours, richness and quality signified one's belonging to the elite. This cultural attitude was specific to the Orient but the ideals of the French revolution were to bring about changes in the Balkans as well. The peoples who had silently accepted and worn the garments of submission took up arms and changed not only their attire but also their attitude. Such emancipation was first visible in appearances. Romanians, Greeks, Cypriots firstly abandoned their long coats and luxurious furs to take on coat tails and crinolines. The French, English and Prussian embassies and consulates – first those in Constantinople, then those in Nicosia and Larnaca, finally those in Bucharest, Iaşi, Athens or Belgrade – provided the earliest models that were sought and diligently copied.

Even when cherishing liberal ideas, some of the wearers of the Oriental vestments did not abandon them so easily, because of their particular important symbolic load. They felt they belonged to an elite, be it the boyar class of the Romanian lands, the merchant class of Cyprus or the Athenian notables. However, the road towards French or English fashion was to be considerably eased by the political developments in the Balkans and in Europe: that is by the independence wars of Greece, Serbia, the Romanian Principalities, then Bulgaria, the 1848 revolutions, the reforms within the Ottoman Empire, the change of political regimes. Such was the case of Cyprus, passing from the Ottoman Empire to the British Empire, and, inevitably, from a costume to another. The boundaries became significantly easier to cross, and the intercultural exchanges between "East" and "West" happened more easily (Onur Inal). Once a curiosity, the Oriental attire became fashionable. While gradually vanishing in the 'East', it re-emerged in the London salons, for example, although oriental

costumes were never meant to be street-wear but rather to hide faces under masks of pleasure.

This 'Europeanization' of appearances was not always welcomed or assimilated. In all these Balkan states, opposition to change manifested itself in one way or another. As argued above, the transition to a different costume was part of a complex modernization process, where the construction of states and nations represented the main goal for those young states. Therefore, adopting French or English fashion accompanied the implementation of a different system of values. Around the beginning of the nineteenth century, as the orientation towards the West was already clear and inevitable, a petty craftsman from Bucharest associated the girls' forelocks, the covering in iron of the houses, the reading of Voltaire and Napoleon's influence to the divine revenge manifested through the plague of 1813:

> "Before, the houses were covered in wood, then we covered them in iron… And the terrible famine... And we still did not pay attention. Always frightened, the pagans almost enslaved us. Then what? Bare-headed and short-haired women, naked from the waste up. Men have abandoned their garb and taken over the foreign one, some French, some German or in other ways, like the pagans, they have begun to wear forelocks, like the women. Then we mingled with them and the wealthiest learned from their books, some in French, others in German, still others in Italian. And the teachings of Voltaire were appreciated, of that person hated by God, but considered God by the pagans. And we ignored the holy fasts. Always had meats at tables. At church we went as to a promenade, one with better clothes than the another, the women wearing all kind of devilish jewels, and we did not enter the church with fear of God, to pray for our sins." (Corfus 1966, 341).

In the years to come, the word "imitation" became more and more uttered by the critics of the new forms. "Forms without content", as the Romanian literary critic Titu Maiorescu wrote in 1868, in a phrase that was and still is widely used, especially in literature, and that caricatured to the grotesque (Maiorescu 1978). This blind imitation of Western couture was used as a definite example for the connection between the behaviour of humans and that of apes. In the Greek case, as Artemis Yagou shows, this comparison became central in order to sanction the fashion practices and especially "the sterile imitation of the social model imported from the West". In the Turkish case, each adopted piece of attire raised lively controversies echoed in the contemporary press (Anastassia Falierou).

The creation of the nation had to link the past to the present, in order to ensure the continuity and especially the legitimacy needed by the new

states of the Balkans. The connection was not easily established, leading sometimes to an arbitrary dichotomy and to the creation of stereotypes such as the immoral urban world *versus* the pure, closer to tradition rural world. However, this tradition was skilfully reinvented and included by Salomon Berger, for example, in the Croat textile industry, so well connected to the Art Nouveau style (Katarina Nina Simončič). Just as in Bucharest or in Athens, the same debates on the advantages and disadvantages of the western imitation animate Zagreb in its search of identity. In fashion, the idea of using ethnic elements in order to construct a personal style and a "national" fashion was a success. It fitted into the European context of defining the state by returning to tradition, reinventing the past, and discovering the folk. In the same context, the modern Romanian feminine elite wore and adopted several elements of the peasant attire, especially the *ie* (a feminine blouse) and the embroideries, and used them on some political occasions to suggest a specific orientation or to grant a symbolic connotation to the event. Even the wife of the liberal politician C. A. Rosetti in the guise of Revolutionary Romania wore the clothes of the Romanian people2. In spite of all these, elements of folk costume were never consistently and insistently taken over as to impose a new (fashion) style, as it happened in Croatia. Here, due to the need to preserve a national identity, unblemished by the German influences, the details of a folkloric art constituted the core of a "Croatian culture".

The same state-building efforts transpire from the various regulations aimed at unifying all subjects and areas controlled by the state, from the military to schoolboys, from the administrative staff to prisoners, from social assistance to health care. This appropriation is also reflected in the need to distinguish individuals in the crowd. Elements of the "national costume" are then recognizable in the uniforms created for different social and professional categories of the modern state. For instance, the students' uniform followed its own fashion trend, albeit confined to a limited register (Ljljana Stankov). Mandatory features stifle fantasy, the changes are by far fewer and prefer to target to the less visible details. It is now that uniforms beget national connotations, in Serbia, in Greece and in the Romanian Principalities, since authorities considered that they had "a great influence in 'rousing' national sentiment" (Ljljana Stankov). Introducing these uniforms constituted the starting point for 'contaminating' the villages with city clothes. Thus, almost despite itself, the state had a direct

[2] See the painting "Revolutionary Romania" painted by Constantin Rosenthal in 1848.

influence in the transformation of the rural world. The soldiers, returning from the WWI front lines, were already wearing the clothing of the urban world, and only took up the rural clothes to participate in the rites of passing that remained specific to the rural world to which they belonged (Petko Hristov).

The innovations of the nineteenth century had a significant contribution to the changes that took place in the history of fashion. The essays in this volume discuss the visible elements, such as clothing, jewellery, the opulence of the elite, fashion and styles, but they also inform the reader about the manner in which these were connected to the political and social developments. The articles in this volume highlight important themes regarding the history of textiles, the shifting of trading and manufacturing centres, the professionalization of the various fields in the history of fashion, and the connection with the introduction and proliferation of steam-powered machines and later of electrical equipments.

Clothes and garments are also part of the social and political transformations brought about by the multiple modernisations of the various Balkan societies. Fabrics, colours, threads, barrels and buttons, lace and jewellery are marvellous documents that bring to life details of the remote worlds of our ancestors, helping us understand the complex meanings of sartorial appearances. The Balkans and the Orient are regions that offer promising avenues of multidisciplinary research concerning clothes and fashion as indicators of social status and political change.

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu
Bucharest, July 2011

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CHAPTER I:

PEOPLE AND THEIR CLOTHES

COLOUR GARMENTS: TRADITION, FASHION OR SOCIAL MARK? THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES IN THE 16TH–17TH CENTURIES

MARIA MAGDALENA SZÉKELY

A true outpour of colour: this is the impression left on the reader by the inventory of goods of Maria, the daughter of the Moldavian prince Jeremiah Movilă, married to the Polish nobleman Stephen Potocki. Made in the second decade of the 17th century and used in a trial for wealth, the inventory dedicates many pages to the garments and cloths in the princess's chests (Corfus 2006: 297-302). One by one, the many clothes are seen in all their splendour: long cloaks, short cloaks, summer cloaks, capes, short clothes, dresses and girdles made of satin, brocade, velvet, damask or silk, in various colours, from black or dark brown, to white, red, orange, green and azure, decorated with pearls, rubies and emeralds, with linings and borders of sable fur, of satin with gold thread, of red satin, of green satin and velvet. Then, one can also see rolls of black and dark brown velvet, of white silk and white damask, of yellow satin, of silk, Persian silk, satin, satin of Venice, damask, Dutch velvet and cloth, all of them red, rolls of light rosy satin, of brick red *kitajka*, of velvet, of green *kitajka* and Dutch cloth.

This inventory reflects, in fact, a natural reality to which the Romanian historians do not pay much attention: in the past, the people's life was far from being dull, but really invaded by colour. Let us have just a few examples. Polychrome frescoes (Vasiliu 1998) and miniatures (Popescu-Vîlcea 1981) could be seen on the church walls or on the pages of the religious manuscripts. The data in the financial registers of Bistrița city show that the Moldavian prince Peter Rareş, a refugee in Transylvania at the time, in 1538 and 1539, hired painters to do some work in his apartments in the city of Ciceu (Constantinescu 1978: 179-181). Scholar Johannes Sommer wrote that prince Jacob Heraclides Despot had commissioned the painting, in the residence in Jassy: battle scenes of the

fight of Verbia, which he had won in 1561 against his adversary, Alexander Lăpuşneanu (Sommer, Gratianus 1998: 30). In Wallachia, the princes' and boyars' houses in Mogoşoaia, Potlogi, Dobreni or Măgureni, built in the 17th century, had rich decoration in multicolour stucco, as well painted walls or ceilings (Nicolescu 1979: 84-85; Sinigalia 2000: 469-570). Even the most modest houses or the monks' cells in monasteries were sometimes conspicuous due to their coloured decorations. The stoves' tiles inside the houses (Batariuc 1999), the pavement tiles, the carpets, and bed covers were all coloured. The bedclothes were white, sometimes embroidered with floral motives, sewn in silk (Del Chiaro 1914: 42). The cradle of the babies – a sort of wooden chest wrapped in canvas – was lined with red cloth and hanged from the room ceiling with four strings wrapped in red cloth too (Del Chiaro 1914: 46). Transparent glass vases with bluish tinges could be seen on the tables of the well to do people (Del Chiaro 1914: 50). It is a well-known fact that the harness and the coaches were also painted. In 1543, the craftsmen of Bistriţa city made a coach for Peter Rareş lined with red cloth (Constantinescu 1978: 192). In 1545, the same prince received from Braşov a coach painted by *Gregorius pictor* ("painter Gregorius") as a present (Quellen 1896: 253, 257, 258, 268; Nussbächer 1987: 88), and one year later, another painted coach was given from Bistriţa, covered with a canopy of green cloth (Constantinescu 1978: 200). The Moldavian boyars with high dignities used to wear staffs as insignia of their ranks: green and gold for the chancellor, blue and gold for the marshals, red and gold for the commander of the army and only silver for the chamberlain (Costin 1958: 238, 387). Certainly, the priests' vestments or the liturgical clothes were also coloured (Johnstone 1967; Musicescu 1969; Broderia 1985).

In such circumstances, it goes without saying that the clothes people used to wear every day or only at festive events had various colours. Some recent research enabled me to notice that in the 16th and 17th centuries, in the Romanian Principalities, the prevailing colour, both for female and for male costumes, seemed to be the red (Székely 2010). It is risky to give figures or percentages, because the specific sources do not allow for statistics in this field of research. However, one can see, in general, that red was followed, at great distance, by yellow, white, green, blue and black. Red was used for all types of clothes: head covers, veils, shirts, tunics, trousers, dresses, belts, coats, socks, and footwear. Yet, black was used especially for shawls, footwear, for fur coats or accessories, and rather seldom for a shirt, skirt, dress or coat. Women seemed to have preferred white, yellow, green, blue and black for their clothes, and men: yellow, green, blue, white and black. The babies' diapers were always

made of white cloth or silk, just like the adults' underwear and handkerchiefs; very often, these ones were embroidered with white or coloured thread (Del Chiaro 1914: 48, 55).

Then, one can see a certain match between clothes and colours. For example, I could not identify yet yellow head covers; however, the footwear of this colour appears rather often in sources. Women's hats, bonnets and veils are usually white and very seldom red; men's fur caps, hats, bonnets or caps were black, red, blue and green. Most of the shirts were red, white (sometimes with the collar and cuffs of a different colour) or blue. At the female costume, the girdles and belts were especially red, white, yellow or blue; at the male costume, the same articles were white, yellow, blue or red. The skirts, dresses or sleeveless dresses could be of any colour, just like the outer clothes, worn both by women and by men over all the other garments. Certainly, all these associations could not be casual, but expressed preferences and maybe influences or even fashion.

Men and women, young and old, rich and poor, used to wear coloured clothes, without observing any of the rules concerning the combinations of colours the fashion designers are concerned with today. The frescoes of the Moldavian or Wallachian churches present, for example, a woman wearing a green shawl, red shirt, yellow gown with black fur collar and red footwear, or a man in orange *anteriu*, red girdle, blue *kaftan*, brown and yellow footwear. So, what Michel Pastoureau noticed in Western Europe ("un individu qui porte une chemise blanche, une cotte verte, un surcot rouge et un manteau bleu n'est absolument pas revêtu d'un vêtement polychrome") is also valid for the Romanian territory (Pastoureau 1989: 214).

The fact that the same colours can be seen at all garments, no matter the wealth or rank of the person who was wearing them, does not mean that all the respective articles were all alike. A stable colour, lasting and especially bright was characteristic for the good cloths that only the rich people could afford. The simple fabrics – possible made in the rural households – that had the colour of the raw material (wool, flax, hemp) were dyed with essences which were influenced by the sunshine or which lost their lustre and got a rather tarnished tinge of grey or brown after repeated washing. In this case too, the state of things was very much like in Western Europe (Pastoureau 1999: 128).

The analysis I have recently made of the costume in the Romanian Principalities in the 16th and 17th centuries made me draw the conclusion that the Romanian society was very tolerant with the colours of their clothes (Székely 2010). None of the written, visual or archaeological sources taken into account offer any direct or collateral information to

prove the existence of some colours interdicted for certain social or ethnic classes. But this state of things seemed to change to the end of the 17th century; in order to understand and follow the long-term consequences I shall have to use sources of the 18th century too.

Chronicler Miron Costin († 1691) wrote that some of the Moldavian boyars who held important dignities used to wear red girdles, as distinctive feature, which they fastened around their waists (Costin 1958: 388). At the end of the 17th century, some Polish ambassadors saw Andrew Likinios, the doctor of prince Antioh Cantemir (1695–1700, 1705–1707), dressed in a red winter coat lined with sable fur (Călători străini 1983: 182). At the funerals of his second wife, celebrated in Bucharest, in 1716, prince Nicolas Mavrocordat and his son from his first marriage were wearing red garments (Călători străini 1983: 384). So, red was a colour rather often worn at the court. Two other sources dating from the 16th century prove this opinion too.

While using a trope designed to eulogise Alexander Lăpuşneanu's ordination as a monk, chronicler Azariah said that the Moldavian prince dressed the monastic wool coat, instead of the "porphyry" one sewed with golden thread (Cronicile 1959: 135). We can list, on the same line, the formulation in the moralising writing *Teaching of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie*: "Do you not know that the emperor should be adorned more than the city ? This is why the city is adorned with flax curtains, and the emperor with porphyry and crown" (Învățăturile 1996: 242). Here we have an example, a Christian metaphor, designed to urge the readers to take care of their souls, not of their bodies, of the deep things, not of the superficial ones: "you do not need golden garments, but the things inside" (Învățăturile 1996: 242). Beyond the two tropes and their moralising purpose, one should remember the association between the red clothes and the holder of the lay power – the prince, the emperor, respectively.

A defining colour both for the Middle Ages and for the pre-modern epoch, maybe due to its stability (Pastoureau, Simonnet 2005: 27-41), the red had a greater frequency in the garments of the rich, but there are also many sources that confirm the red used by persons who did not belong to the elite of the power. While taking into account the many examples that can be given I have already referred (Székely 2010) to the fragment of scarlet brocade discovered in the grave of an ordinary person in the necropolis of "Câmpul şanțurilor" (Suceava) (Batariuc 1993: 241, grave M 46), to the two red coats mentioned in the will of merchant Necula, in 1687 (Arhiva 1864: 62; Lazăr 2006: 283, note 191), or to the clothes of Manea, the bailiff of the masons, and Vukašin Caradja, the stone cutter,

were wearing in the fresco of the Hurezi Monastery (Miclea, Florescu 1989: 20, no 37 and fig. 37).

At the middle of the 17th century, the Syrian archdeacon Paul of Aleppo mentioned the clothes of red cloth the pages used to wear in Moldavia (Radu 1933: 454). The uniforms of the soldiers in the guard of Constantine Brancovan that the Florentine secretary of the prince, Anton-Maria Del Chiaro wrote about were also red (Del Chiaro 1914: 79, 109). This fashion may have been the result of the influence coming from the banks of the Bosphorus to the Romanian Principalities. In 1681, the Venetian senator Giambattista Donado, who had seen the suite of George Duca in Constantinople, wrote that the Moldavian prince who had just come from the sultan, was surrounded by a guard made up of 30 men wearing turbans of brocade, shirts of fine white fabrics sewn with silver thread, shalwars of *şocârlat* (see Pastoureau 1997: 41 and note 48), coats of *cârmâz* (see Pastoureau 1997: 40 and note 46) up to their knees long, sewn with golden thread, and yellow boots (Iorga 1899: 20). Yet, the tradition was older. According to Miron Costin, in the time of Radu Mihnea (1616–1619, 1623–1626), the Moldavian pages used to wear velvet cloaks with collars of marten or fox furs (Costin 1958: 90). Unfortunately, the chronicler does not mention the velvet colour, but if we have no further details, we may think it was red (Pastoureau 2007: 141; Mérindol 1989: 224).

Therefore, it was not an unusual fact to have red uniforms at the court of Constantine Brancovan. It was also usual to use red velvet for dressing the prince’s throne in the metropolitan church (Del Chiaro 1914: 43), or the throne put, on the occasion of a religious ceremony, on a scene with three steps, also covered with cloth of the same colour (Del Chiaro 1914: 111). In fact, red was the best colour for suggesting the idea of pomp and power (Greenfield 2008: 32-48; Wilska 1989: 308, 313-315; see for comparison, Ruiz 1991: 536-540). Yet, things become more complicated if we add some other information provided by Anton-Maria Del Chiaro, secretary of the same prince from 1710 till 1714. The Florentine says that there were no chairs in the Wallachians houses, but benches fixed around the walls and covered with cloth, which “only at the court was red” (Del Chiaro 1914: 43). This assertion seems to suggest a restriction, a certain right only of the court to use the red colour. We see this is the meaning of the explanations Del Chiaro gives in a note by the same author which makes things certain: in Wallachia, the boyars’ wives used to travel in coaches drawn by horses covered by green or blue caparisons, but never red, because this colour was only for the ruling family (Del Chiaro 1914: 42-43).

Unfortunately, none of the historical sources consulted makes us understand that such a restriction would have existed for clothes, in other words that only the prince, princess and their children would have been allowed to wear red clothes. However, it is known that during the reign of Constantine Brancovan, the Jews were allowed "to wear only black or violet clothes, not yellow or red boots, but only black" (Del Chiaro 1914: 109). It is true that in the course of time, the Jews were submitted all over Europe to vestmental restrictions, but in the Romanian territory such measures do not seem to have ever been taken before. Moreover, in the frescoes of the churches of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Jews – represented in the group of the damned ones at the Last Judgement (Garidis 1969: 86-103; Grabar 1980: 186-197) – appear every time in multicolour clothes. This is how we see them painted in the church monastery of Hurezi, built by Constantine Brancovan himself. Because we have no reasons to doubt what Anton-Maria Del Chiaro wrote down, we can only put together all the information mentioned so far in order to establish if and to what extent one can talk about an attempt of establishing certain colours for the clothes of the inhabitants of the Romanian Principalities at the end of the 17th century.

The starting point is made by the unusual remark of the chromatic restrictions concerning the clothes of the Jews. At first sight, one could believe that this state of things was older and that only its written attestation dates as far back as the reign of Constantine Brancovan. But, as I have already shown, the visual sources do not support such a supposition. In the fresco of the Hurezi Monastery, started in 1692, just like in the previous painting ensembles, the Jews are wearing clothes of all colours (blue, yellow, red, green) and yellow footwear, namely just what it was forbidden to them. Certainly, the scenes in the church painting have never reflected the very immediate reality; sometimes, they remained on the line of some representations already embedded in the collective mind and so, traditional. Yet, we can wonder if the restrictive norms Del Chiaro speaks about have not been introduced after 1692. Here is what the written sources reveal: in 1693, Constantine Brancovan's daughter, Maria, married in Jassy to Constantine, the son of the former prince of Moldavia, George Duca. The Wallachian chronicler Radu Popescu tells that on an Easter day, Maria received the visit of a boyar's wife who was wearing an *işlik*, according to the country's custom. Furious, she snatched it from her head and threw it into the fire, letting the woman bare headed, because only the princesses could wear such head covers, not the boyars' wives. The gesture was a great surprise for the aristocracy of Moldavia, who considered it unjustified and added it to other reasons of discontent, which

finally made Constantine Duca lose the throne in December 1695 (Cronicari 1961: 474-475). Did Maria have a nervous breakdown? The members of the princes' entourages were faced with their states of irritation rather often. Therefore, they should not have paid so much heed to a temporary incident. Yet, the fierce reaction of the Moldavian boyars shows that it was much more than that: it was not the *işlik* thrown into fire that upset them, but the defiance, the infringement of the old local customs. On the other hand, had it not been a norm in this regard, Maria would not have had any reason to say that the *işlik* was reserved only to the princesses. Or, because such a rule was not applied in Moldavia, we may suppose that Constantine Brancovan's daughter knew the custom from her native country.

Corroborated, the informations on the chromatic and garment restrictions reveal a reality not very emphasised so far. First of all, one should notice that we are in the same period, after 1692: after the painting of Hurezi Monastery was begun and before Maria married and left for Moldavia. Secondly, very significant is the fact that the princess affirmed her point of view in a manner almost identical with the stipulations of the sumptuary laws adopted in Western Europe. "Only the princesses are entitled to wear *işlik*", sustained Maria; the silk garments and golden jewels "ne devoient appartenir qu'aux Princes", mentioned an edict of 1485, given in the name of King Carol VIII of France by the regent Anne de Beaujeau (Fogel 1987: 230). If we compare things, even if we miss some more precise data, it seems obvious that in the case of Wallachia we have a deliberate deed, a juridical stipulation, a princely commandment that exceeded the court's circle, concerning both the private and the social life. A group in ethnic and religious minority was obligated to wear, as identity element, dark clothes and footwear; the restriction was applied only to the Jews, not to the Lutheran Saxons, to the Calvin Hungarians, to the Armenians or Turks who were also living in Wallachia, amid the population in majority. It seems that some clothes (the *işlik* for example) were reserved for the princely family. The red objects – fabric, caparisons or uniforms – were a strong signal for the power holder. In addition, interior decorations and transportations were also considered. The houses, the silver tableware, the coaches and even the number of horses were often subject to the sumptuary laws in Western Europe.

While we observe the proportions, what seemed to have happened in Bucharest during the last few years of the 17th century was in accordance with the realities in the Western countries, known for quite a long time.

England (Hooper 1915: 433-449; Baldwin 1926; Harte 1976: 132-165; Harte 1993: 801-816; Scholz 2000; Phillips 2007: 22-42), Spain (Donahue

2004: 105-118), France (Lériget 1919; Kraemer-Raine 1920; Aragon 1921; Godard de Donville 1978; Roche 1989: 54-56; Heller 2004: 311-348), the Italian cities (Hughes 1983: 69-99; Hughes 1986: 3-59; Brundage 1987: 343-355; Kovesi-Killerby 1994: 99-120; Bridgeman 2000: 209-226; Frick 2002; Kovesi-Killerby 2002; Stuard 2006) or the German ones (Greenfield 1918; Vincent 1935; Roper 1985: 62-101; Lüttenberg 2003: 137-148; Aaslestad 2006: 282-318), they all adopted sumptuary laws throughout the centuries, till late, in the modern epoch (Freudenberger 1963: 37-48; Hunt 1996). First, the respective normative texts had moral theological motivations. Every member of the society had to dress and live according to his condition, in order to observe the social order created by God (Fogel 1987: 230). Both the Catholic and the Protestant world thought that avoiding luxury was necessary not to bring about the fury of the Lord (Bulst 1993: 782). Because the construction of the Lord and the harmonious hierarchy of the Christian society could be disturbed, the utilisation of certain garments, jewels or colours unsuited were considered as an offence brought to divinity, as sin, usurpation and even treason. The defiant display of luxury was the sign of insolence, impertinence, pride, and vanity; on the contrary, the true Christian had to be discreet, decent and modest, able to show his gratitude for the statutes God had given him. In the course of time, the economical arguments were added to the sumptuary laws. The exaggerated expenses for luxurious objects have often imposed the selling of the fortunes, of the land, which fact naturally brought about the weakening of the economy; the purchase of expensive merchandises transferred big amounts of gold abroad and hence the need to adopt certain measures for protecting the coin and control the circulation of the precious metals (Fogel 1987: 230). Certainly, the content of the sumptuary laws differed from one epoch to another and from one geographic area to another, in accordance with several factors: authority of the central power, financial situation, social pressure, outbreak of wars or pestilence, or even alimentary crisis. Yet, the purpose of these norms was the same, no matter the circumstances or motivations: to avoid social confusion.

The public character of the social life made a certain garment compulsory. But certain articles of clothing, as cloths, furs, laces, lines or jewels were selective. So, the hierarchy of wealth and the social hierarchy became visible. Even if the financial means played a very important role, those who owned equal wealth did not always wear the same garments. So, the sumptuary laws took into account first the costumes and jewels, both from the point of view of the cloth and of the number of clothes a certain person was allowed to have. Little by little, colour was added to

quality and quantity. It is a well-known fact that red came to identify with the high aristocracy, the grey and brown tinges with the bourgeois, and the black with the magistrates. In France, silk was reserved only for the nobles, “mais à l’intérieur de la noblesse elle-même interviennent d’autres principes de classement: la couleur, le plein usage des soies rouges cramoisi appartient «comme il est très raisonnable» aux seuls princes et princesses, les nobles de moindre rang ne pouvant en porter que dans les pièces de vêtements; la couleur et la qualité, les dames des maisons royales et princières prennent place sur une échelle où la restriction du velours de toutes les couleurs sauf le cramoisi aux seuls noir et brun organise un ordre descendant” (Fogel 1987: 231).

So, the costume and its accessories became a mark of the social power and, consequently, of the political power, a code that defined the identity of every member of society (Bulst 1993: 773), a sign of the difference in ranks. It had to be a perfect correspondence between rank and garment. The regulations concerning the excess of clothing marked a field reserved exclusively to the power, where the usurpers could not join, because only the traditional elite had to keep a prevailing position affirmed through a certain standard of living recognised as such by those around. So, the genuine aristocrats were protected against the parvenus, strangers, or ambitious bourgeois. Thus, the respect of the subjects was imposed and moreover, the hierarchy inside the noble class was strengthened, avoiding the changing of the garment into an expression of the social ambitions. “Le vêtement devient proclamation d’appartenance”, wrote Nicole Pellegrin (Pellegrin 1993: 90).

At the time when, in Wallachia, prince Constantine Brancovan seemed to have tried to put things in good order in the field of “appearances” – just to use Daniel Roche’s syntagma – various edicts and sumptuary regulations were in force in the rest of Europe, mostly since the beginning with the 17th century, the importance of the garments increased, in direct relation with the firm affirmation of bourgeoisie in the economic field. The adoption of some restrictive measures in the Romanian territory to affirm the prevalence of / and re-establishment of the hierarchic order is likely to have been a sign of modernity, an indication of the growth of the role of individualism and of the economical freedom. On one hand, given the conditions of the development of the urban life, the presentation in public was important; the newly enriched ones wanted to display their wealth and to look like the aristocrats. On the other hand, the growth of the social mobility favoured the incoming of a larger and larger number of foreigners with bourgeois jobs. So, new ways were needed for telling one social group from another, to distinguish a foreigner from a native.

Therefore, the clothing and colour represented a very efficient code of non-verbal communication. The equilibrium was re-established through this code, the social confusions were removed, and the hierarchies were easy to distinguish.

In Bucharest, just like in all the other European capitals, the princely court was the place where the ranks were displayed to the highest degree and so, it was natural that the need of differentiation was stronger. In this regard, what Norbert Elias noticed in the France of Louis XIV was also valid for the Wallachia of Constantine Brancovan: “La différenciation des aspects extérieurs de la vie pour marquer la différenciation sociale, la représentation du rang par la forme, ne sont pas seulement caractéristiques des habitations, mais de toute l’organisation de la vie de la cour. La sensibilité des hommes de ce temps pour les rapports entre le rang social et l’organisation de tous les aspects visibles de leur champ d’activité, y compris leurs propres mouvements, est à la fois le produit et l’expression de leur position sociale” (Elias 1974: 42).

Due to a measure of authority the central power imposed, during the last few years of the 17th century, red ceased to be a simple colour, having become an appanage of the ruling family. On the other side of society, marginalization was shown by another colour: black (Pastoureau, Simonnet 2005: 91-105; Pastoureau 2004: 119; Pastoureau 2008). So, colour was both a symbol of power and of marginalization. The garment and colour affirmed prestige and defended the social position.

The fact that Constantine Brancovan tried to impose these restrictions is not surprising. On one hand, having been in close diplomatic relations with the European states and especially with the Holy Empire – of which prince he would become through the diploma awarded by emperor Leopold – he certainly knew the sumptuary laws in force at the time. On the other hand, his inclination to magnificence, to ostentatious wealth, is repeatedly confirmed by the historical sources. In fact, one of the accusations formulated against him and which brought about his beheading in Istanbul, in 1714, was that he had got silver drums and trumpets from Vienna, for the ceremonies of his court, which neither the sultan had. So, it was quite normal for this prince to wish to establish a mechanism to confirm the rank and dignity, to ensure a place in society designed to fix, in its turn, a behavioural code.

Void of practical value in the social reality of the daily life (Bulst 1993: 773), the sumptuary laws would disappear in the first half of the 18th century. Yet, at the other side of Europe, they were still far from falling into desuetude. Due to the irony of fate, the one who adopted a part of the vestmental rules in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century was just

sultan Ahmet III (1703–1730), who sentenced Constantine Brancovan to death. The vestmental rules sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566) imposed were still in force in Istanbul at the time. But the changes occurred during the 150 years past ever since also imposed the changing of the respective norms (Quataert 2005: 144; Jirousek 2000: 201-241). Several laws concerning the clothing of the sultan's subjects appeared during the so-called "Tulip period" (1718–1730). They "preached for a status quo that was all too fugitive – for morality, social discipline, and order – and ranted against women's and men's clothing that was variously too tight, too immodest, too rich, too extravagant, or the wrong colour. In the 1760s, laws condemned merchants and artisans for wearing ermine fur, reserved for the sultan and his viziers. In 1792, women's overcoats were said to be so thin as to be translucent and so were prohibited while, just a few years before, non-Muslims allegedly were wearing yellow shoes, a colour permitted only to Muslims" (Quataert 2005: 148). The last stipulation certainly reminds of the interdiction imposed one century before to the Jews in Wallachia to wear yellow and red boots.

The sources examined for establishing the chromatic sensitivity in the Romanian territory in the 16th and 17th centuries did not reveal so far autochthonous roots of the restrictions imposed at the time of Constantine Brancovan. On the contrary, as I have already shown, till the end of the 17th century, all the inhabitants of the Romanian Principalities seem to have used the same colours in clothing, the difference having been made only by their stability, brightness and shining. Moreover, the immediate remonstration of the attempt of Brancovan's daughter to change a piece of garment into a princely appanage proves that such measures of vestmental restriction have never been taken at the court of Moldavia. So, we can only think that the Wallachian prince took over a model from the Western countries that would be added to certain influences in the Ottoman world.

Nobody knows what exactly happened to these norms after Brancovan's death, just as nobody knows if they have ever been strictly applied. In Western Europe, the sumptuary laws stipulated fines if they were infringed, but not the constitution of some control structures. Therefore, most of them have never been observed (Bulst 1993: 772-773). Yet, the interest of these laws does not consist in their consequences, but as Michèle Fogel showed, in "dans ce qu'à travers leur répétition et le rythme de cette répétition, les permanences et les variations des interdits et de leur justifications, ils révèlent des prises de position de l'État monarchique" (Fogel 1987: 230). It is true that in the second decade of the 19th century, following the hierarchs' and boyars' proposal in the council (Urechia 1898: 119-120; Ionescu 2001: 83), the Wallachian prince John

Caradja (1812–1818) imposed some restrictions designed to observe the common sense and diminish inadvertent expenses. After two years, the sumptuary law was followed by the interdiction to use white for the garments of the people who did not belong to the ruling family. It is difficult to say if these measures were the late echo of Constantine Brancovan's attempts or only the vague reflection of the norms imposed at the court of Istanbul and of the feminine fashion in Paris (Pastoureau 2001: 103). Yet, in this field too, the Romanian Principalities remained in the area of confluence of the two worlds poles apart from the point of view of the civilisation, cultural legacy and religion.

Anteriu = (tc. *anteri*); long coat, up to the ankles fastened with a belt.
Cârmâz = (tc. *kirmız*); deep red fabric.
Işlik = (tc. *işlik*); head cover of fur, cloth or velvet.
Kaftan = (tc. *kaftan*); long wide coat with long sleeves cleaved in the middle.
Kitajka = thin Chinese cloth.
Porphyry = purple-red brocade.
Şocârlat = (pers. *saqirlāt*); Italian cloth, only red first, but then of some other colours too.

Translation by Anca Oiță

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Across Three Empires: Balkan Costumes in XVI Century Europe

GIULIA CALVI

Before the eighteenth century, of the Europeans who had spent time in the Balkans during the early centuries of Ottoman rule, only Venetian diplomats and German travellers had left detailed observations on ethnic differences among Slavs, unbiased by anti-Turkish propaganda.(Todorova 1997). Throughout the XVI century Venetian diplomats had undoubtedly acquired the best and most sophisticated knowledge of the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans, given their traditional commercial exchanges dating back to the Byzantine empire, as well as Venice’s privileged position in the eastern Mediterranean up to the XVIII century.

Venitian editorial production was among the leading ones in the booming market of prints and engravings. Costume books offered an appealing representation of otherness to a wide audience attracted by travelogues, maps, exotic specimen and curios (Ambrosini 1981; Woodward 1996). Clothing collections, which oscillated between representations of the flexible meaning of *habitus* and the more traditional one of costume, were a considerable success for publishers and booksellers. Volumes containing engravings of various sizes were often taken apart and sold by the page; these soon became objects of decoration, amusement, and collection. While 216 different collections circulated in Europe between 1520 and 1610, production intensified (Tuffal 1955; Wilson 2005; Martin and Romano 2000; Burke 2000) most perceptibly after 1550, principally in the cities of Paris and Venice, the two most prominent centres for publishing. Beyond their captivating and exotic quality however, the repetition of the images, their wide circulation, and the reiteration of the models diminished, so to speak, each author’s originality. The overlapping and interweaving of citations and copies gave rise to a palpable consensus that, over time, took on the weight of an iconographic hegemony. This process contributed first to the definition of European men and women with respect to peoples elsewhere, and then to the elaboration of more

circumscribed similarities and qualities particular to their more local 'position': north or south; east or west; urban or rural; and across social classes, religious affiliations and the life course. Costume books can thus be analysed for their capacity to gather and distribute the most visibly evident components of belonging that is constructed alongside the production of otherness. The most important quality of these collections, which varied in their internal organization, the coherence of their iconographic contents, and the presence or absence of written text, lies in their unilateral undertaking —and their capacity to do so-- to represent the 'other'—non-western peoples in a broad sense, who became, *de facto,* the 'represented'. For centuries it would be the western gaze, via images, literature, and geographical, anthropological and clinical investigation, to define and fix the representation of world peoples.

The gaze Venetians had of the other side of the Mediterranean coast, was not focused on a North South axis, but rather along South East geographical coordinate which, as Braudel wrote, was the route to the Levant, with long established trade and relations and a complex civilization where Byzantium lived on (Wolff 2001). It was the route from Venice to Istanbul which, from the Asian side, proceeding along a North Western axis, brought back to Venice immigrants from Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia, Turkey and the Ottoman Empire along with silk and spices. The Riva degli Schiavoni, was not only a point departure, but of arrival. The South East perspective Braudel suggested well before the East West partition of the European continent inaugurated by the Enlightment, introduces an oriental flare. Travellers along the inland route crossed the border between Venitian Dalmatia and Ottoman Bosnia, reaching Istanbul over the mountainous regions of the Balkan peninsula. This was also the road of the Ottoman caravans bringing their Oriental merchandise to the lazzaretto of Split before their shipment to Venice.

Tracing the representation of costumes and customs from the Balkan peninsula in Sixteenth century Europe implies a transcultural and transnational approach. It requires a constant crossing of borders between the contested and changing territories of three Empires, albeit of different dimensions: the Ottoman, Hapsburg and Venetian *stato da mar*. No national representation of the clothed bodies of men and women from these regions is available in Renaissance costume books, but rather a group of scattered images situated within the Hungarian kingdom, the Ottoman and Hapsburg Empires, the independent city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and the Venetian overseas colonies. A transcultural and transnational approach requires crossing religious borders in constant tension in the age of the Counter Reformation: catholic and orthodox

Christianity, Islam and Judaism. Captives, fugitives, slaves and converts were part of broad networks of communication, information, exchange and trade across the Mediterranean. Representing Balkan identities therefore means locating ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities inside large scale competing political entities where bodies and attire were often a site of camouflaged and ambivalent identities and where minorities marked their traditions mostly through ritual and the costumes of women. Thus a Greek bride in Pera, under Ottoman rule, emphasized her European roots and "resembles that of Venice and Florence", though cross-marrying among Orthodox and Catholics was strongly opposed, while women's everyday dress was "in the Turkish style". In Syria "ruled by the Great Turk" Jewish men dressed in Syrian style "in garments similar to those of the Turks" which in turn resembled those worn by Levantine Jews in Venice, while Jewish women dressed "differently from the Christian " (Rosenthal and Jones 2008). Minorities tended to integrate and thus camouflaged, but also tried to resist and distinguish themselves adopting traditional attire. In this perspective women's costumes, especially through the wedding ritual, marked cultural boundaries.

However, in spite of fragmentation, a broad cultural uniformity is also clearly perceivable. A long lasting tradition dating back to Sebastian Munster and Konrad Gessner outlined the persistence of common "sclavonian" languages defining a broad Slavic linguistic domain. In a different sphere of knowledge, as we shall see, Cesare Vecellio in his *Habiti antichi e moderni* points to visible similarities in the clothes and costumes from Dalmatia to Ukrain and Russia. Later travellers in the XVIII century such as the abbé Alberto Fortis in his *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774) shared the same view albeit within a growing acknowledgement of ethnic differences within a Southern Slavic taxonomy of local identities (Albanian, Bosnians, Illyrians, Serbs, Croats, Dalmatians).(Wolff 2001)

For Sixteenth century travellers, diplomats, merchants, artists and refugees the Ottoman Empire with its peculiar social, cultural and religious features occupied the centre of the stage and the Balkan peninsula, largely under Ottoman rule, mainly seems to have bridged the inland passage from continental Europe to Istanbul. Indeed, rather provokingly, Maria Todorova argues that the identity of the Balkans stems from their having been part of the Ottoman Empire (Todorova 1997). While the Ottoman perception and self perception, constantly invented and reinvented, persisted well after the Balkan secession from the Empire, a shared and widespread opinion tends to conflate a loss of cultural identity with Europeanization and the birth of the nation state as a normative agent in opposition to the imperial legacy. And yet, Todorova distinguishes sharply

the Balkans from the Orient, and draws a line between Orientalism and Balkanism as usable historical analytical categories. The Balkans are part of Europe, bridging between East and West. The region is a "semicolonial" periphery from which one cannot provincialize Europe adopting a post colonial posture, as it is inside its borders (Todorova 1997; Subramanyan 2006: 86-88).

The Hapsburg Empire controlled the northern part of the area which included the Southern Austrian regions of Carinthia, Carniola and Trieste as well as the kingdom of Hungary comprising a part of Croatia and Zagreb. Venice having lost a considerable amount of territories to the Ottomans (Cyprus in 1571) maintained control of its overseas territories comprising Dalmatia and the Adriatic and Ionian islands, Morea and Candia (Crete). Durazzo and Split were the main commercial ports of the Eastern trade. Marino Berengo defined as a "semicolonial" regime the Venitian domination of Dalmatia which was rendered "legitimate and almost inevitable by the fearful backwardness of the region and the continuing Ottoman threat, such that the administrative organization was inspired by criteria still more centralist than those prevailing in the continental state". More recently however Benjamin Arbel has discussed the overseas colonies within Venice's Renaissance imperial pursuit in terms of relations always preserving "their fundamental colonial nature"(Wolff 2001: 8). Thus Balkan ethnic minorities have to be located also within both the Hapsburg empire and the Venetian *stato da mar*. In this perspective Vecellio draws the costumes and describes the ferocious customs of Balkan "tribes" such as the Uskoks from Senj "subject to Prince Charles of Austria" and sharing a border with the Turks "with whom they are always fighting". He also portrays "beautiful" dalmatian women from the island of Cres coming to Venice for the feast of the Ascension with their white leather shoes that enable them to "dance better and to walk quickly" (Rosenthal and Jones 2008: 348, 349). Going through Vecellio's engravings of Venitian costumes, Slavic, Greek and Turkish immigrants in the Dominante make their appearance among the working inhabitants of low status. Thus the *Scappoli*, part of a free galley militia, are for the most part "Slavs or Greeks or men from similar nations, brave, strong and robust by nature. They have rugged faces, being natives of infertile countries" (Rosenthal and Jones 2008: 171). A naturalized inferiority is connected to their non Venetian origin.

Tracing the representation of Balkan costumes in Renaissance European costume books means crossing the boundaries of three Empires: The Ottoman, Hapsburg and Venetian, looking for minorities within overarching similarities. It also means – as Todorova again suggests –

questioning a gendered perception that has equated Balkanism with aggressive masculinity. While the Orient is overtly feminized in western imagery, the Balkans lacking opulence and sensuality, are constructed through medieval-like icons of bravery and knighthood. The typical Balkan male – so Todorova- is primitive, rough and cruel. In a broader perspective, masculinity spilling into harsh religious practices and war-like attitudes characterized western representations of the Turcs from the first path-breaking, widely circulating and multi edited *Les Quatre premiers livres de Navigations et Peregrinations* by Nicolas de Nicolay, the French geographer of Charles IX, printed in Lyon in 1567-68.

Archetypes

In the following pages I shall take into account Nicolas de Nicolay's text and images on Balkan costumes in the Ottoman Empire in book III and IV of his *Livres* (Nicolay 1989). These images spread across Europe constructing in time a western imagery and originating long lasting stereotypes. Italian, French and Flemish engravers copied Nicolay's plates as the *Livres* were translated and printed in Italy (1576, 1577, 1580), Germany (1572, 1576), England (1585) and Flanders (1576). I shall however also look for the representation of religious and ethnic minorities within the Empire that often converted to Islam and camouflaged their origins under Turkish dress and customs. This widens the search and introduces a dynamic, transformative dimension generally lacking from the fixed images of costume books, which lend themselves to be rapidly stereotyped through a process of selection, circulation and reproduction. A subtle connection between images and texts should also be acknowledged as descriptions of costumes in travelogues match their iconic representation in costume books and vice versa. Only a careful analysis of editions and translations allows us to distinguish the original text/image from the vast amount of literature reiterating archetypes for the market. Nicolay's *Livres*, with their important European diffusion originated a process of othering which rapidly produced a selective aesthetic, a peculiar taste for certain images, clothes and gestures that spread and consolidated a western European imagery of the Ottoman Empire (Wilson 2007).

Next I shall focus on the work of the Venetian Cesare Vecellio, analysing the different ways in which he portrayed men and women from the Balkans comparing the two editions of his *Degli habiti antichi e moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (1590) and *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (1598). The two collections are illustrated with 415 and 503 plates, respectively. In the first edition, the text is in Italian and often

takes up more than one page. In the second one the texts are drastically shortened and appear both in Italian and Latin, aimed at a much broader international audience. Compared to earlier European costume books, including those by the Italian (Bertelli, Vico, Grassi) the French (Boissard), the Flemish (De Bruyn) and the German (Weiditz, Amman) authors, those of Vecellio represent a point of arrival for their breadth, completeness, coherence, and refinement. They constitute a genuinely synthetic work that offered readers a wide panorama of the varieties of people and cultures that populated the sixteenth century world.

Turning to the representation of Balkan costumes, while Pietro Bertelli simply replicated Nicolay's plates, Vecellio drew and engraved totally new ones. They are especially significant in view of his subject position, that situates his gaze within the interests of the Venetian *stato da mar*. As mentioned previously, a few of Vecellio's Venetian costumes suggest a dynamic exchange between the metropole and its overseas territories both in terms of migration and political power. In contrast to the prevailing masculinity of the Balkan imagery, Vecellio introduced a few female costumes, notably that of the Dalmatina, beside the Dalmatian man “Schiavone, o vero Dalmatino”. In sixteenth century European costume books Vecellio's engravings will not be reproduced. No edition of his work was translated and printed before the French one of 1859. Nicolay's representation of Balkan costumes prevailed and became dominant among North European artists. The French gaze, we could argue, prevailed over the Venetian one, in spite of the experience, proximity and exchanges within the Adriatic sea.

Minorities

Tracing descriptions and drawings of the Balkan minorities in the Ottoman Empire means entering into the social processes which led to the construction and reproduction of the slave élite comprising both men and women from non Muslim backgrounds, trained in the military corps of the Janissaries and inside the harem as concubines (Pierce 1993; Pedani 2010). Nicolas de Nicolay relied on a couple of contemporary authors claiming a direct experience of the inner workings of the Ottoman court owing to their upbringing as Christian slaves in the Serail. He copied text from the two Venitians Giuseppe Bassano and Giovanantonio Menavino, (Bassano 1545; Menavino 1548) kidnapped and enslaved, and required the help of a eunuch from Ragusa, Zaferaga, who had been trained since his early youth in the Serail. “As soon as he understood my desire to draw the costumes of the women – writes Nicolay- Zaferaga had two turkish

prostitutes dress up for me with very rich clothes that he sent for from the market, the *bezestan*, where one can buy any kind of attire. They are the women I portrayed in the following drawings” (Nicolay 1989: 129). The gaze of the Ragousan eunuch, his choice of women and ornaments are therefore a constitutive feature of Nicolay's perception and representation of the female slave élite in the sultan's harem. Its inaccessibility produced, so to say, a staging of identities where camouflage and mimicry are the main components of the visual experience. De Nicolay's orientalizing gaze was shaped by Zaferaga's interpretation and cultural mediation.

In the third book of the *Navigations*, the two images of the *azamoglans*, the Christian male children sent as a tribute to the Sublime Porte from the peasant households of the European continental parts of the Empire, are reprinted and reproduced in Vecellio's engravings of Turkish costumes and in the Flemish De Bruyn's book (Fig. 1, Nicolay, *Azamoglan*). The strong anti Turkish and anti islamic language used by Nicolay is slightly less virulent in Vecellio's 1590 text, which reproduces only one image describing with the same words used by Nicolay the costume worn by these young men: “a clothing of light blue fabric” and a “yellow cap made in the shape of a loaf of sugar” (Nicolay 1989: 151-154; Rosenthal and Jones 2008: 403-404)

Another engraving widely reproduced in European costume books is that of the *delly* an unpaid irregular warrior of Serbian origin in the Turkish army. The *dellys* distinguished themselves for their daring and boldness. Nicolay describes these warriors in a lengthy text, using classical sources, mainly Herodotus, and his own experience. Their physical appearance and terrifying attire aim at naturalizing the peculiar type of performative and aggressive masculinity embodied in the representation of the Balkans. The *dellys*, so De Nicolay, come from those parts of Bosnia and Serbia bordering with Greece on the one hand, and with Hungary and Austria on the other. According to Herodotus they are the true Illyrians: strong, imposing, with well shaped and robust limbs and “ayant la couleur lionasse”. They are barbarian in their customs but can be easily deceived. The Turcs call them *dellys* which means furiously mad, but among themselves they call each other *zataznicis*, “which in their language means defiant, as they are obliged to fight alone against ten men in order to acquire the name and status of a *delly* or *zataznici”*. In Adrianople (Romania) Nicolay accompanying the French ambassador d'Aramont in the house of the local pasha, first visir of the Empire, saw a delly. Offering him some money, he invited him to the ambassador's lodgings where he drew his portrait wearing his “strange” costume.



Figure 1.

"Son jupon et ses longue et larges chausses, des Turcs appelées saluares, étaient de la peau d'un jeune ours ave le poil en dehors et, par dessous les saluares, les bottines de maroquin jaunes, pointues devant, et fort hautes derrière, ferrées pas dessous, et environnées de longs et larges éperons. En la tête, avait un long bonnet à la polaque ou à la géorgienne, penchant sur une épaule, fait de la peau d'un léopard bien moucheté: et sur icelui, au devant du front, pour se montrer plus furieux, avait attaché en large la queue d'une aigle, et les deux ailes, avec grands clous dorés" (Nicolay 1989: 227).

A few days later, as the army was moving to Transylvania, De Nicolay saw the *delly* once more, riding a handsome turkish horse "caparaconné d'une entière peau d'un grand lion, attaché des deux premières jambes au milieu du poitrail, et les deux autres étaient pendantes sur le derrière". Turning to an interpreter, De Nicolay asked him about his religion and origin: the *delly* answered he came from Serbia and was born a Christian, but dissimulated his faith behind islamic practice. He then pronounced in

Greek and in “sclavonic” language the Sunday Christian prayers and when asked why he dressed so strangely with the huge wings he said it was to appear more furious and terrifying when facing the enemy (Nicolay 1989: 226-229). (Fig. 2, Nicolay, Delly)

Interestingly enough, Nicolay's single engraving of the warrior looks rather static and flat and does not follow in detail his own textual description of the *delly's* attire (the lion's skin is only partly visible). Much more impressive is the figure drawn by Melchior Lorck, the Danish-German artist who served as a member of the Imperial embassy representing the interests of the Holy Roman Empire at the court of Suleyman the Magnificent between 1555 and 1559 under the leadership of the ambassador Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (Busbecq 1744; Fisher, 2009). Lorck's fine engraving of the *delly* - the lion's kin enveloping with its mouth wide open the horse's head - conveys effectively the frightful use of animal skins in these warriors' costumes. The two artists were probably part of the same milieu, communicating shared experiences and images.

After Armenia and before Greece, in book IV of his *Livres des Navigations*, Nicolay introduces Ragusa and Romania which he calls Thrace after Herodotus, while a short chapter on the Macedonians is part of the section dedicated to Greece. These are the only scattered references to the Balkan regions comprising long texts and a handful of tables: two representing the local Ragusan merchant and the “fante”, i.e. the young messenger who carried letters travelling on foot to Istanbul and back; (Pedani, 2010:160-170) five female costumes portraying the Greek and Jewish minorities in Adrianopolis (Romania), a Turkish prostitute (“fille de joie”), a turkish woman of middle status and the woman from Macedonia. (Fig. 3-4, Nicolay, Merchant from Ragusa and Messenger)

Nicolay draws information about Ragusa and its dwellers from present day sources and focuses on the modern city, representing it through male costumes. In the wealthy harbour only men make themselves noticeable: some dress like Venetians and some others like the merchant and *fante* shown in the tables. The spoken language is “Sclavonian” but people also speak “a sort of corrupt Italian, even rougher than Venetian” (Nicolay, 1989: 241). Women are mentioned only in the text, while Nicolay does not draw them:

> “Leurs femmes ne sont guère belles, et s'habillent assez mal proprement, portant ordinairement un ornement de tête élevé en coqueluche, fait de fine toile de lin. Mais les femmes nobles le portent de soie blanche, ayant leur chausses avalés jusqu’aux talons. Elles sortent peu souvent hors de leur maison, mais volontier apparaissent aux fenêtres pour regarder les passants. Quant aux filles, elles sont tenues tant resserrées qu'on les voit aucunement” (Nicolay 1989: 241)



Figure 2.



Figures 3 and 4.

In contrast to Ragusa, Romania and in particular Adrianopolis, is portrayed through female modern fashions and so is Macedonia. Thracians and Macedonians, on the other hand, are presented exclusively through lengthy quotes from classical authors, mainly Herodotus. Relying on ancient sources indicates a lack of direct knowledge: Renaissance ethnography described these regions repeating stereotypes on promiscuity, polygamy and lawlessness derived from Herodotus, whose classification of the peoples in the area of the Caucasus and on the northern boundaries of Greece defined them as barbarians (Calvi 2007). Only Adrianopolis, the seat of the Sultan's harem and palace, offered a contemporary panorama of its inhabitants with prominent Greek and Jewish minorities amidst the dominant Turkish population. Thus Nicolay drew from real life Jewish, Greek and Turkish urban women. The one from Macedonia is also a modern image: “Par la figure suivante se voit quel est l'habit moderne des femmes macedoniennes”. (Nicolay 1989: 269) This costume will become a real icon in sixteenth century costume books, copied by Boissard, De Bruyn, Bertelli and Vecellio. (Fig. 5 and 6, Nicolay, Woman from Macedonia; Boissard, Virgo Macedonica)

In contrast to contemporary visual experience, the whole chapter on “Moeurs, Lois, Religion et Manière de vivre des Anciennes des Thraces” is taken from Herodotus and reiterates the binary distinction between Greece and its northern barbarian neighbours. As non Greeks they are naturalized as the most cruel, wicked and inhuman people in Europe, especially those of Scythian descent. Their eyes have a wild look, their voices an atrocious sound, their bodies are stronger and bigger than anyone else. They sell their children to far away and foreign lands and allow their daughters to lead a promiscuous life with whoever they please. But they carefully guard their wives after marriage and the reason is that they buy them, especially the beautiful ones, at a high price from their fathers and mothers (Nicolay, 1989:251). For centuries a different system of couple and family formation rooted in Herodotus' distinction between the bride price paid in the Eastern regions of Europe and the western dowry of Greek and Roman origin separated the Balkans within an East/West partition of the European continent. Voluntary servitude spreading from the Balkans to Russia is the second structuring feature distinguishing “sclavonian” regions from the West and endlessly repeated by XVI century authors (Boemo 1543; Hodgen 1953; Stahl, 1974; Testart and Brunaux 2004).





Figures 5 and 6.

Venitian views

In Italy the first drawings of the costumes of the inhabitants of Ragusa appeared in Pietro Bertelli’s *Diversarum Nationum Habitus* printed in Padua in 1589. He copied Nicolay's merchant and messenger, inserting them haphazardly with no text. There probably was no other printed image of Balkan clothing, as Vecellio's first edition of *Degli Habiti antichi e moderni di diverse parti del mondo* was published one year later, in 1590. The Flemish engraver De Bruyn in his *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae, Americae gentium habitus* (Antwerp 1581) had already reproduced the same two images from the *Livres des Navigations* identifying them as *Tabellarius ragusanus* and *Mercator ragusanus olim Epidaurius*. In the same year the French artist Jean Jacques Boissard in his *Habitus Variorum Orbis Gentium* used different references or models, as in portraying the élite of the city he represented a *Civis Ragusius* and a *Nobilis Ragusius* whose long pleated robes are closer to those of Venitian senators. Nicolay in his text distinguished between aristocrats governing the city through the council of the *Pregadi* and dressed in the Venitian style from the merchants and mechanics he portrayed. Boissard certainly

knew his work, as he traced Nicolay's plate of the woman from Macedonia, and perhaps drew the two citizens of Ragusa not from an engraving, but from Nicolay's detailed textual description of the Ragusan patriciate.

Before 1590, when Vecellio's first *Habiti* were published, Nicolay's Livres had been translated in four different languages and published in seven editions across Europe. It is no wonder that his images of the Ottoman Empire had already established a consolidated imagery of the Balkan regions. Nicolay's woman from Macedonia with her unique and elaborate headdress holding a loaf of bread gained a broad success. It appeared in De Bruyn, Bertelli and Boissard - who eliminated the bread, turning her into a *virgo macedonica* and putting her side by side with a more mature *foemina macedonica* wearing a turkish style turban. Vecellio traced these two female costumes from Boissard's engravings, changed the *virgo* into a *nobile donzella* and inserted them among the costumes of Greece.

In Vecellio's 1590 text, Macedonia where Durazzo was part of the Venitian overseas lands, is described essentially as a Christian bulwark against Islam through the recollection of George Scandenberg, the local hero who, fighting against the Turks maintained "the Christian faith by himself in that province". A neat description of the unmarried Macedonian girl's attire focuses on her headdress "in the shape of a box, made of thin, light woods covered with a small gold cloth with many beautifully set jewels in it, forming the shape of a crown at the top". Although not represented in any of the drawings, the "beautiful and pleasant faces" of these young girls are covered "with veils of thin, rich silk that they let fall down to their waists"(Rosenthal and Jones, 2008: 426-427). In Vecellio's *Habiti* the thickly veiled Venitian maiden connects to the Macedonian one through the cultural code of family honour, above all visible in the clothing of the virgins. These social norms, represented through the veiled and semi hidden bodies of young women, were part of an overall mobile and relational language that distinguished the women of the urban elites especially in the Mediterranean regions of Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

Comparing the two editions of Vecellio's *Habiti antichi e moderni,* printed in 1590 and 1598, costumes from the Balkan regions are differently distributed. Inserted within a broad undifferentiated European continent in the first, they are grouped in Book IX of the second under the title *Habiti d'Ungheria* which comprise nine plates – six male figures and three female. The *Habiti d'Ungheria* belong to territories not defined in terms of a distinct geographic and cultural unit, but rather as a fragmented

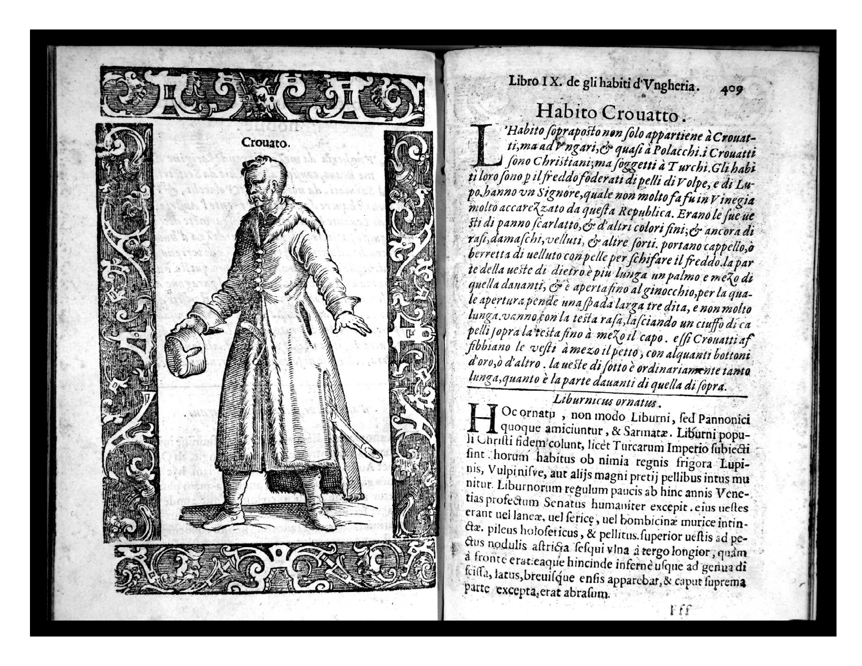
set of lands divided between different political and religious systems, while altogether rooted in that part of the world which comprises both Christian and Islamic lands. Contemporary maps printed in Venice, namely those by the official geographer of the Republic Giacomo Gastaldi, represented the area along the same coordinates that appear in Vecellio's book IX, where the boundaries between the Hapsburg and Ottoman Empires, the Hungarian kingdom and Venice's stato da mar are pictured in clothing. In line with the prevailing intellectual trend in Venitian XVI century political and historical writings (Valensi 1987, 1990) Vecellio's text does not draw a line which separates Catholicism from orthodox Christianity and Islam, but insists on including them within Europe. Compared to contemporary costume books, where images from this area are scattered in a haphazard way or set within Turkish, Armenian, Caramanic and Greek costumes, Vecellio constructs the only coherent set of tables and texts on the Balkans, repeating it in an almost identical way in the two editions. In the 1598 one he only adds one plate, that of the prince of Transylvania presumably Stephen Batory, which opens the series of the Habiti d'Ungheria. Introducing a clear hierarchical structure in the second edition meant adjusting the Balkans to Europe and the world, as religious and secular rulers (the doge, the pope, the emperor and all European and non western kings and princes) structure Vecellio's representation of the peoples of the four known parts of the world. All the peoples of the world are represented within a dynastic framework, where women are largely absent (only the semi naked queens of the New World appear in a couple of tables) in contrast to the first edition where female costumes as symbols of civic identity inaugurated each section of the work.

The colourful damask costume of the prince of Transylvania embodies the style and colour of the ethnic groups belonging to the kingdom – Hungarians and Croats- offering a representation of dynastic unity through the visual symbolisms of his precious robe. Next in the hierarchy of appearances comes the nobleman from Hungary or Croatia. His figure is first of all is situated in space: within the geographical boundaries of Hungary and inside the predominantly rural landscape of a fertile land. The text accompanying the images changes from the first to the second edition. The Italian lengthy descriptions of peoples and landscapes give way to shorter commentaries in Latin and Italian eliminating all references to the three orders of the population (priests, warriors and peasants) to villages and village life. "There are many, many cities" and the clothing of the people resembles that of Croatia. They wear a small hat of fine wool coloured or black and their overgarments of fine silk are floor-length.

References to fur and weapons, stockings and buttons are eliminated (Vecellio 1998:408). Descending the social hierarchy, the clothing of Croatian men is common to Hungarians and very similar to that worn by Poles. Vecellio mentions that Croats are "Cristianissimi", very Christian, though under Turkish rule.

The late XVI century and the XVII marked the high point of catholic propaganda in the Balkan region, through the activities of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome. The Counter reformation policy in the region aimed to support catholic minorities and to expand the influence of the Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire. Vecellio points to the connections between Venice and Croatia, whose ruler travelled to Venice where he was very well received. It is interesting to point to a small but relevant change in the text: in the first edition the ruler was well received by the Croatian community in Venice; in the second by the Republic itself. "He wore garments of fine wool in scarlet and other colours, and also of satin, damasco, velvet and other fabrics" (Vecellio 1998: 40) In general however, because of the cold climate, clothes are lined with fur and men wear a velvet hat. Through the front opening of the gown, one can see a short dagger and they shave their heads leaving a tuft of hair at the centre of their heads. (Fig. 7, Vecellio, Crovatto)

Colour is a distinguishing feature of these costumes in all social milieu. In contrast to the prevailing black fashion spreading from Spain through western Europe, Croats and Hungarians dressed in colourful patterns, with a taste for red. "Hungarian men wear long garments especially in red. All of them wear buttons fastened with braided trim, some of silk mixed with gold and some of crystal" (Rosenthal and Jones 2008: 245; Vecellio 1598: 410). They are not in the habit of wearing gloves, but put their hands inside the long sleeves of their gowns. They shave their heads and grow a beard and moustache. They are warlike people and that's why they wear high arched shoes with soles of iron. The emphasis on natural war like attitudes will be endlessly repeated in later travel journals up to the XIX century. A loose society of aggressive men, which in the XVIII century would be increasingly connected to the lack of civilization, is gradually essentialized in Vecellio's text through a set of predominantly male portraits. The topos of aggressiveness, savagery and great physical strength, as well as the dislike for black, follows in the next image, that of the Schiavone o vero Dalmatino. "This country produces men who are tall, robust and healthy, but in their behaviour and speech they are usually coarse". The first edition referred to "men and women", but the women were erased from the 1598 text. "They dress in colours and rarely wear black, except when they mourn their dead" (Rosenthal and Jones 2008: 345-



Libro IX. de gli habiti d'Vngheria. 409

Habito Crouatto.

L'Habito sopraposto non solo appartiene à Crouatti, ma ad Vngari, & quasi à Polacchi. i Crouatti sono Christiani; ma soggetti à Turchi. Gli habiti loro sono p il freddo foderati di pelli di Volpe, e di Lupo, hanno vn Signore, quale non molto fa fu in Vinegia molto accarezzato da questa Republica. Erano le sue uesti di panno scarlatto, & d'altri colori fini; & ancora di rasi, damaschi, velluti, & altre sorti. portano cappello, ò berretta di uelluto con pelle per schifare il freddo. la parte della ueste di dietro è più lunga un palmo e mezo di quella dauanti, & è aperta fino al ginocchio, per la quale apertura pende una spada larga tre dita, e non molto lunga. vanno con la testa rasa, lasciando un ciuffo di capelli sopra la testa fino à mezo il capo. essi Crouatti affibbiano le vesti à mezo il petto, con alquanti bottoni d'oro, ò d'altro. la ueste di sotto è ordinariamente tanto lunga, quanto è la parte dauanti di quella di sopra.

Liburnicus ornatus.

Hoc ornatu, non modo Liburni, sed Pannonici quoque amiciuntur, & Sarmatæ. Liburni populi Christi fidem colunt, licèt Turcarum Imperio subiecti sint. horum habitus ob nimia regnis frigora Lupinis, Vulpinisve, aut alijs magni pretij pellibus intus munitur. Liburnorum regulum paucis ab hinc annis Venetias profectum Senatus humaniter excepit. eius uestes erant uel laneæ, uel sericę, uel bombicinæ murice intinctæ. pileus holosericus, & pellitus. superior uestis ad pectus nodulis astricta sesqui vlna à tergo longior, quàm à fronte erat: eaque hincinde infernè usque ad genua discissa, latus, breuisque ensis apparebat, & caput suprema parte excepta, erat abrasum.

Fff

Figure 7.

346; Vecellio 1598: 411). (Fig. 8, Vecellio Dalmatino o Schiavone) The nobles are also clad in coloured silk, velvet and damasco. They carry a scimitar in Turkish fashion and many an iron-covered mace. They are Catholic and pious, arms bearing and hard-working Vecellio's gaze and point of view is that of a Venitian describing and drawing costumes that are part of the *stato da mar,* Venice's eastern Mediterranean dominions. These are the lands that bred soldiers for the army and the navy of the Republic and the approach is biased by the rationale of imperial rule: Dalmatians in the service of Venice are devout Christians, fighting for the triumph of the true faith in the Mediterranean. In the 1590 edition, Venetian rule over Dalmatia is represented through the costumes of "Gentlewomen in Venetian outposts and Territories", as well as in the more simple garb of the Dalmatine.



Libro IX. de gli habiti d'Vngheria. 411

Schiauone,ò vero Dalmatino.

PRoduce questo paese huomini grandi, e robusti, di bel sangue; ma nel pratticare, & nel parlare ordinariamẽte aspri. vestono di colori, e poco usano il negro, eccetto alcuna fiata ne' lutti de' loro morti. portano per un'ordinario in testa un cappelletto rosso, ò d'altro colore, con una rimboccatura di dietro, il quale è ordinariamente di feltro. i nobili tra di loro, e quelli di qualche grado uestono uelluti, damaschi, scarlatti, & altri panni fini di colori diuersi. usano alcune casacchette con le maniche e sotto un'altra simile, et le calze intiere uerdi, ò rosse; ma legate sotto il ginocchio. si cingono una scimitarra alla turchesca, et assai portano una mazza ferrata. si calzano alcune scarpe di feltro coperte di fuora di cuoio alquanto alte, quali si legano sopra il piede, & fino alla gamba. sono cattolici, e diuoti, armigeri, & di gran fatica.

Dalmatarum uestitus.

HVius regionis homines sunt perpulchri & corpore magni; moribus verò asperi. uestes, exceptis lugubribus, sunt coloratæ. laneum pileum rubri, vt plurimum coloris, & in extrema parte à tergo inuersum capite gestant. nobiliores, ditioresque sericis uestibus coloratis utuntur. interius inferiusque sagulum est manicatũ. femoralia iuncta tibialibus rubri, seu uiridis coloris sub genu astricta. manu ferream gestant clauam. calcei panno intus muniti sunt supra talos eminentes. hi homines sunt catholici, pij, armigeri, laborumque tolerantissimi.

Fff 3

Figure 8.

> "The wives of gentlemen sent to govern other cities take on their husbands titles and are called Podestaresse, Capitane and so on. And certain elegant fashions are also named after these unusual titles, following decorum. For this reason these women dress very magnificently, according to their titles and rank, and they wear many ornaments. Their gowns are of different colours of brocade of silk, gold and silver. They dress their hair always blonde (by nature or by art), very richly with pearls and other jewels (...)They go out accompanied by noblewomen of the cities where they are posted, and with them and dressed this way, they go to church and to public festivals" (Rosenthal and Jones, 2008: 135)

Local and Venitian women of the élite embody networks of alliance, hierarchy and ethnicity. Dress appears first and foremost as a cultural technology of rule within what Bernard Cohn defines as a "theatre for state experimentation". The sumptuous clothes of the podestaresse and capitane as well as those of the local gentlewomen imitating Venetian fashion transgress the sumptuary laws of the metropole and are an essential element in the constitution of authority. As Cohn forcefully observes, clothes cannot be understood only "as metaphors of power and

authority. In many contexts, clothes literally are authority. Authority is literally part of the body of those who possess it" (Cohn 1996).

Venitian women in Dalmatia incorporate a fundamental identification between dress and imperial rule. Not a member of the élite, in her simple, loose and colourful clothing (she wears no bodice) the "tall healthy and active" Dalmatina (fig. 6) looks very graceful in her "ghellero", a short "open and roomy garment of fine wool or satin or damasco with half-length sleeves". As their men, these women are very pious. Those living in the island of Cres come to Venice every year for the feast of the Ascension wearing head veils of thin silk, long coloured woollen gowns, linen aprons and thin *camicie* without ruffles (Rosenthal and Jones 2008: 347-348; Vecellio 1598: 412-413). (Fig. 9, Vecellio, Dalmatina)

Nobody had drawn a portrait of the leader of the Uskoks, a "very ferocious tribe, daring and terrifying" subject of the Hapsburg Empire and inhabiting the steep, mountainous region of Senj in Dalmatia "so nimble and fast when they run that they move across those mountains as quickly as chamois". The Uskoks made their living by constant robberies and raids generally against the Turks but also against the Republic, when they deemed their booties insufficient or when tensions with the Dominante burst open, as Venice was then experiencing in the so-called Uskok war. (Bracewell 1992) "Their overgarments resemble those of the Slavs long in the back and short in the front. On their head they wear a small cap of velvet in a fantastic shape; it comes down to the middle of the neck in back, and in front it is turned up with a slash on each side" (Rosenthal and Jones 2008: 349; Vecellio 1598: 414). (Fig. 10, Vecellio, Capo di Euscocchi)

The last table of Vecellio's Book IX pictures the young woman of Ragusa, in Slovenia. The text of the first edition is radically shortened, eliminating all reference to the history of the city, its present day setting (the beauty of its harbour and fountains) its commercial wealth, slavic language and republican political regime which fits with its people who partly dress in the Venetian style, partly as they like. In the second edition there is a brief observation on the women's lack of beauty (which coincides with Nicolay's same impression) followed by the description of headdress, jewels, gown, and long black mantle. The 1590 text specifies that the picture is that of a bride of the local nobility, which explains the lack of colour and the Venitian styled "buratto" (Rosenthal and Jones 2008: 350; Vecellio 1598: 415). (Fig. 11, Vecellio, Giovanetta ragusea)



Libro IX. de gli habiti d'Vngheria. 412

Donna Dalmatina, ò vero Schiauona.

LE donne di tal paese sono assai di bel sangue, grãdi di persona, & da faccẽde. si auuoltano alla testa vn fazzuolo di seta, ò di tela bianca, & con esso tengono le treccie in assetto; ma l'adattano con bella maniera. vestono di colori diuersi, e panni fini, & le lor uesti sono lunghe senza busto; ma le portano cinte cõposte, & legacce di panno assai larghe. vi sono in esse assai pieghe; ma da basso vi sono alcune liste di seta. hãno poi sopra detta ueste una vestetta di panno fino, ò rasi, ò damaschi con meze maniche, quale chiamano il gheltero, aperta, & spaciosa, che loro dà molta gratia. S'ornano il collo di perle, e catene d'oro. portano calzette rosse, & pianelle bianche.

Mulier Dalmata.

DAlmatiæ regio per pulchras mulieres, proceres corpore, & laborum patientes gignit: quæ sub lineo, siue serico inuolucro uenustè comas componunt. laneæ uestes sunt uersicolores, tenues, prælongæ, sine thorace, lanea zona præcinctæ, infernè sericis fasciolis ornatæ, & plenę plicarum. superinduunt quoque sericum amictum cum dimidijs manicis latum, atque patentem; quo quidem non paulum ornantur. collum unionum lineis, aureisq́ue monilibus decorant. caligis rubris, & candidis baxeis utuntur.

Fff 4

Figure 9.

Picturing the young woman of Ragusa in a black mantle meant offering a very different view of local customs in contrast to the widely circulating and reproduced engravings of the Ragusan merchant and messanger in Nicolay's Livre IV. The girl in black emphasized Venetian influence, through the fashions adopted by the patriciate and citizenry that had close ties to the Republic (Krekic 1997; Bertelli 2004). The *giovanetta ragusea* expressed the point of view of the Venetian artist, in the same way as the Dalmatino and Dalmatina, the leader of the Uskoks and the Croat. All of them were Southern Slavs who maintained a Christian identity even when subject to the Ottomans, and were connected to Venice through war, migration, social and political networks within a semicolonial or colonial relationship to the power of the Dominante. They liked to dress in a colourful way, the women disliked black and bodices, the men wore golden and crystal buttons, small hats lined with fur and often carried scimitars and daggers. Their style and choice of garments was common to many of the Slavs stretching from Dalmatia, Croatia and Bosnia to Poland and Russia. Vecellio chose to include them in a separate book where he did not reproduce Nicolay's engravings, but probably drew his models from direct visual experience (Newton 1988). However, while

Nicolay's *Macedonian woman, Ragusan merchant* and *messenger* became well established icons of the Balkans, systematically selected and copied by northern European engravers, Vecellio's figures did not construct an imagery of the Balkans and did not circulate beyond Venice or Italy for a long time.

In spite of this iconographic oblivion, the girl from Dalmatia went on living, alone or with her Dalmatian man, in surprisingly different settings. In 1758, Zandira a woman from Dalmatia became the heroine of one of Goldoni's oriental plays, *La Dalmatina* and in 1944, as the communist partisans were fighting against foreign occupation, Tito "with Goldonian enthusiasm extolled the martial value" of the Dalmatino and Dalmatina, as the heroes of the Partisan resistance (Wolff 2001: 357).



Libro IX. de gli habiti d'Vngheria. 414

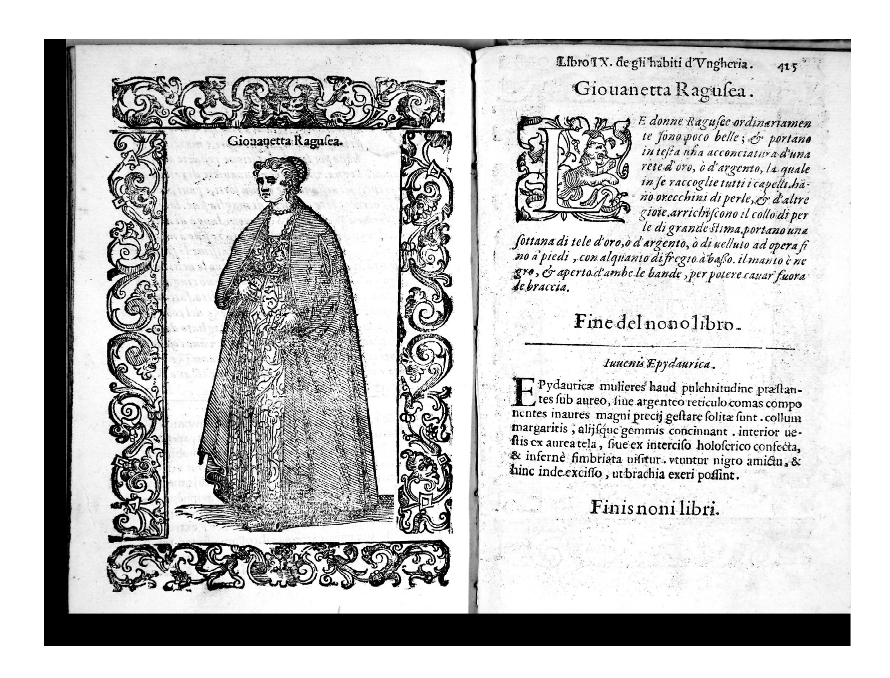
Capo di Eufcocchi.

QVesta è vna natione molto feroce, arrifcata, e terribile, foggietta al Principe Carlo d'Auftria. habita in luoghi afpri, e montuofi. & hãno per loro habitatione refidēte un luogo chiamato Segna. viuono continuamēte di ratto, ò rapina. I principali ueftono fete di più forti, e pãni fini. portano nel guerreggiare camicie di maglia fine. la lor vefte è conforme à quella delli Schiauoni, lunga di dietro, & corta dauanti. le maniche fono intiere fino à mezo il braccio. maneggiano armi corte, & maffime la fpada, p effer più atta alla guerra nauale. chiudono le uefti cō bottoni d'oro, ò d'argēto, quali per ordinario nō cingono. hãno in tefta un cappelletto di uelluto, ò d'altro, fatto molto alla fantaftica; dietro fcēde fino al mezo del collo, & auãti fopra la tefta fi rimbocca, effendo tagliato dalle bãde. fono cofi lefti, & agili nel correre, che vãno cofi ueloci per quei monti inacceffibili, come le camozze. vfano le loro calze intiere roffe, ò uerdi, & calzano fcarpe groffe, & da fatica.

Dux Eufcochorum.

HÆc natio ferox, atq; terribilis, faltus montofofq; locos incolens Caroli Auftriæ Imperio paret, & raptu viuit Principales Eufcochi ferico utuntur habitu; & in bello lorica æneis amis confecta amiciuntur. veftes à tergo, quam à fronte longiores, & cũ dimidijs manicis geftant. breuibus armis vtuntur, & enfe præcipuè; quippè qui in rebus naualibus aptior fit. folutę ueftes argenteis, fiue aureis aftringuntur globulis. pileus extraneus quidem eft, ora enim extrema ad collum ufque à tergo decidit, à fronte verò supernè inflectitur. femoralia tibialibus iuncta funt uiridis, fiue rubri coloris; & calcei agreftes, & ruftici.

Figure 10.



Giouanetta Ragusea.

Libro IX. de gli habiti d'Vngheria. 415

Giouanetta Ragusea.

LE donne Ragusee ordinariamente sono poco belle; & portano in testa una acconciatura d'una rete d'oro, ò d'argento, la quale in se raccoglie tutti i capelli. hanno orecchini di perle, & d'altre gioie. arrichiscono il collo di perle di grande stima. portano una sottana di tele d'oro, ò d'argento, ò di velluto ad opera fino à piedi, con alquanto di fregio à basso. il manto è negro, & aperto d'ambe le bande, per potere cauar fuora le braccia.

Fine del nono libro.

Iuuenis Epydaurica.

EPydauricæ mulieres haud pulchritudine præstantes sub aureo, siue argenteo reticulo comas componentes inaures magni precij gestare solitæ sunt. collum margaritis, alijsque gemmis concinnant. interior uestis ex aurea tela, siue ex interciso holoserico confecta, & infernè fimbriata uisitur. vtuntur nigro amictu, & hinc inde exciso, ut brachia exeri possint.

Finis noni libri.

Figure 11.

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MAPPING TRANSYLVANIA AS A MULTIETHNIC AND MULTICONFESSIONAL REGION IN 17TH-TO 19TH-CENTURY COSTUME BOOKS[1]

ROBERT BORN

Due to its ethnic make-up and its location at the periphery of the political centres of Vienna, Budapest and Bucharest and on the fringes of Western and Eastern Christianity, Transylvania [Romanian: Transilvania / Ardeal; Hungarian: Erdélyi; German: Siebenbürgen; Turkish: Erdel] forms a multicultural transition zone and is thus perfectly suited to serve as case study for comparative analyses on ethnicity and nationalism as well as research on specific regional characteristics.

The complex ethnic and denominational constellation that emerged in Transylvania must be seen against the background of the successful Ottoman advances in the 16th and 17th centuries which decisively changed conditions in Eastern Central Europe, especially so in the kingdom of Hungary. Following the Hungarian defeat in the Battle of Mohács (1526) and the permanent occupation of Buda (1541), the country was divided into three parts: so-called Royal Hungary in the West, the territories under direct control of the Ottomans, and Transylvania in the East. While the western and south-western parts of the former kingdom (incl. Croatia) gradually became a defence zone or buffer-state of the Habsburg territories and the Holy Roman Empire, Transylvania gained the status of a tributary state of the Ottoman Empire with relative political autonomy: from 1570, the eastern part of the former medieval kingdom of Hungary was constituted as the principality of Transylvania, based on the

[1] The study resulted out of my research on the different religious groups in Ottoman Hungary within the Research Group on the Ottoman Orient and East Central Europe based at the *Geistwissenschafliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Osteuropas* (GWZO) in Leipzig. My special thanks for the English translation of the manuscript are addressed to Andreas Puth, Barbara Lück (Berlin) and Gabor Kármán (Leipzig). I also would like to thank Renata Choinka (Berlin) for helping me with the preparation of the illustrations.

Unio Trium Nationum (*The Union of the Three Nations*) already established in the second half of the 15th century. The nations which formed the backbone of this political system were the three privileged Estates of the nobility (mostly ethnic Hungarians), the Székelys, also an ethnic Hungarian people which was primarily charged with military duties, and the ethnic German, Saxon burghers. Several legislative acts passed in the middle of the 16th century – particularly the 1568 laws – contributed to securing and protecting the status of as many as four confessions in the public life of Transylvania: Calvinists, Lutherans, Catholics, and Antitrinitarians (known locally as Unitarians). The large Romanian population – excluded from political participation – belonged to the Eastern Orthodox Church, which enjoyed the status of a tolerated religion (Keul 2009: 15-47).

From the Early Modern Age onwards, travellers and natives alike emphasised the coexistence of numerous ethnic and confessional groups within a comparatively small region as one of the distinguishing features of Transylvania. This paper aims to investigate visual records of the various degrees of this coexistence which have hitherto only received marginal attention. The focus will be on depictions of Transylvanians and their dress made between the 17th and 19th centuries. Apart from a small amount of prints, the majority of these consists of watercolours. Their artistic quality varies rather significantly. Most of them were bound together in books. Today, the surviving images are dispersed widely across Europe. Larger convolutes survive in Bologna, Bucharest, Debrecen, Graz, London, Budapest and Sibiu (Hermannstadt), some less substantial series in Berlin, Weimar and Wrocław (Cf. Primary Sources).

Previous studies on these costume books focused on the verisimilitude of the costumes' depiction. The interpretation of the pictures by Romanian, Hungarian and Transylvanian Saxon scholars frequently matched the actual political situation they were writing in (Szendrei 1907; Huß 1922; Irimie / Bielz 1959; Alexianu 1987: vol I, 425-430 and vol II, 56-70). This paper will not ignore the question as to the illustrations' veracity. Yet it also aims to trace the genesis, function and reception of these costume books. These latter aspects are closely related to the concept of "mapping", according to which a mental image is projected onto the spatial imagination (Langenohl 2005). In addition, I will be operating with the cultural-geographic understanding of space as a socio-cultural construct. This understanding is closely related to the concept of cartography as a set of techniques deployed with the purpose of accumulating knowledge with regard to the ordering and controlling of the territory (Harley 1988: 279; Crampton 2001). On the other hand there is a parallel between the creation

of costume books and the general phenomenon for which the art historian Svetlana Alpers has coined the term “mapping impulse” (Alpers 1987).

The formation and the success of the costume book genre in the Renaissance were promoted by several simultaneous processes. These were the intensification of costume studies – driven by artists such as Antonio Pisanello, the members of the Bellini Circle in Italy, and Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein the Younger in Northern Europe – and the perfection of illustrations through improved printing techniques (Gattineau-Sterr 1996: vol I, 4-8; Ilg 2004: 33-36).

Research on the genesis and function of this genre has repeatedly addressed the question as to the illustrations’ verisimilitude. Initially, the books and their images respectively were seen as accurate records of 16th-century conditions (Tuffal 1951). More recent studies have qualified this interpretation, investigating formal elements of printed costume books and thus demonstrating that images were frequently copied from previous publications (Olian 1977; Gattineau-Sterr 1996). In the last two decades, several academic disciplines (art history, history) have intensified research on printed costume series as well as on dress and genealogical books which were especially popular in 15th- and 16th-century Germany. In becoming increasingly aware of the relationship between images and texts, these studies have raised the issues of the images’ reception and their function as normative guidelines with regard to the audience’s identification with, and integration into, particular social roles (Blanc 1995; Rublack 2010: 148). Costume illustrations have also been interpreted as emblems, typologies of appearance and inventories of social differences noting the terminological affinity of *Habit* (attire) und *habitus* (conduct/demeanour) in 16th-century France. The nexus of character and clothing was to remain a fixed point of reference in treatises throughout the 16th century, as evinced by Baldassare *Castiglione’s Il Libro del Cortegiano* (Book of the Courtier) (1528) or Giovanni della Casa’s *Il galateo* (1558) (Guérin Dalle Mese 1998: 10-11).

Accordingly, social hierarchies corresponded to hierarchies in appearance, and within a short period of time these were elaborated into a kind of sartorial taxonomy by means of printed costume series (Defert 1984: 25-26, Belfanti 2009, 264-265). This hierarchical order was subsequently transferred to different parts of the world, including America which had only recently been discovered and therefore exerted a particular fascination on the public. Costume books evidently show parallels to travel writing in that they serve as inventories of difference. Recent analyses on the genesis of costume books as well as the related genres of topographical views of cities (vedutas) and printed maps reflect the

sensitivity to what has been coined “the ethnographic view” – a formative phenomenon of the Early Modern period which can be defined as the growing interest of significant parts of society in topography and ethnography, leading to a gradual secularization of the perception of the world (Defert 1984: 31-33; Brückner 2002; Grimes 2002; Mentges 2004; Rosenthal and Jones 2008: 15-16).

Early modern costume books do not pay much attention to Eastern Central European attires. If at all, they mostly depict examples from Poland and Hungary (Fülemile 1982: 125-126; Galavics 1990: 55-65). In both cases the depiction of women is very schematic – usually, they can only be identified because of the short accompanying texts. The male figures are distinguished by their special type of hairstyle and weaponry evidently evoking the spatial proximity of both countries to the Ottoman Empire. This frontier setting and the menace of war associated with it are patterns often found in the explanatory captions.

Characterizations comparable to those in costume books can be found in the medium of cartography. A good example is the map of Hungary published in 1626 by John Speed, depicting figures in Hungarian costume on both vertical margins (Szántai 1994: 21). They were distributed so as to form male-female couples, arranged vertically according to social status. This design feature was widely used on world maps, facilitating as it did the positioning of figures corresponding to their respective homelands. On Speed’s Hungary map, the costume figures at the margins also function as metonyms for status hierarchies and national character (Traub 2000, 49-51). The text of the atlas in which the map was introduced characterises the Hungarians as ‘strong, fierce, revengefull harsh to strangers, briefly ill mannered and worse learned’ At the same time, it emphasises that ‘their greatest pride is their name of a warlike nation’. Accordingly, the traditional manner in which they demonstrated this pride was through man-to-man fights between a Hungarian and a Turk. The victor, the text claims, was to be honoured by wearing a feather as trophy (Speed 1626 /1646). This description merges narratives formed by both the actual threat posed by the Ottoman Empire at the time and long-established clichés about the barbaric orient. Yet comparable accentuations are also central to the self-definition of eastern Central Europeans: orientalising dress plays a crucial role in the “ostentatious barbarism” cultivated by the Hungarian and Polish élites (Rublack 2010:146). This phenomenon was already addressed by Márton Csombor Szepsi (1595-1622), author of *Europica varietas*, which contained the earliest early modern travel account of Hungary and referred to similar strategies of display in contemporary Poland (Kármán 2010: 562-564). Allusions to the oriental roots of the

Hungarians (Sythia) and Poles (Sarmatia) were also significant in the process of constructing national mythologies. Accordingly, János Thuróczi's chronicle of 1486 contains a woodcut showing the legendary seven chieftains of the Magyars taking possession of their new homeland, with the chieftains wearing oriental costumes (Marosi 1991: 86-88; Tompos 2005: 88). This may be also seen as reflecting contemporary conventions at the court of Matthias Corvinus. Caesare Valentini, an envoy from Ferrara, reported how the Hungarian king wore oriental attire – notably a kaftan – when receiving the diplomats and presented them with rich oriental robes. This presentation of gifts shows evident parallels to similar rituals at the Ottoman court where the giving of kaftans played an important role in diplomatic customs (Gervers 1982: 12-14; Turnau 1991: 48). Apart from ideological motives, this custom was certainly also instigated by the ready availability of high-quality clothes, fabrics and shoes – a result of the intensifying trading with oriental goods from 1540 onwards, facilitated to a significant extent by the so-called Greek merchants (Gecsényi 2007, Pakucs 2007: 74-100; Mérai 2008: 90-91). Luxurious oriental clothes became important features of conspicuous consumption which was essential in promoting social advancement, in Transylvania as much as elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Diplomatic reports from this part of the world provide rich testimonies of this phenomenon. One of them compares the appearance of Prince Gábor (Gabriel) Bethlen (ruled 1613-1628) to that of an Ottoman dignitary (Gervers 1982: 15; Turnau 1991: 47).

Initially, these phenomena were not taken up in the costume book depictions. There is a contrast between western costume books' focus on representations of Hungarians on the one hand and Transylvanian chronicles of the second half of the 16th century on the other, which are still essentially formed by the humanist and cosmographic tradition and constantly repeat the trope of the principality's diversity of *nationes* and *religiones* (Zach 1985; Armbruster 1990; 173-200). The earliest depiction with Transylvanian relevance is the portrait of the *Principe di Transilvania* in the second edition of the 1598 costume book by Cesare Vecellio (Vecellio 1598). (Illustration 1) Therein, it opens the ninth book on Hungary and Dalmatia. The standing figure in western European armour represents Prince Zsigmond (Sigismund) Báthory who became famous across Europe on account of his military successes against the Ottomans. In accordance to Báthory's prominent status, Vecellio describes the prince's robe as extremely ornate and made of silk with patterns in gold and other colours, thus corresponding with the materials used by the Hungarians and Croats living in the kingdom (Vecellio 1598: 407).

Vecellio therefore employs a fictional construct, as the kingdom of Hungary he describes had ceased to exist for several decades at this point in time.

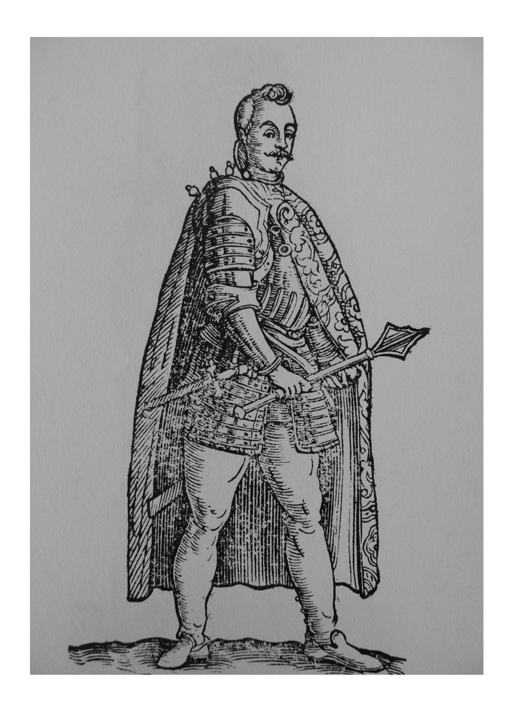


Illustration 1.

A comparably constructed scenery is also to be found on the earliest 17th-century costume illustration directly devoted to Transylvania which has frequently been cited as important precursor to the 18th-century costume books referred to already (Galavics 1990: 68). This is the depiction of the city of Claudiopolis/Cluj from the sixth volume of the series "*civitates orbis terrarum*", published in 1617. (Illustration 2) The veduta dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand was made by the Flemish artist Egidius von der Rye after a sketch of Georg (Joris) Hoefnagel (1542-1600) and is typical for the latter's compositions with regard to embedding the vista of the town into the surrounding landscape and the virtuoso exploitation of the perspective in the foreground. As in other urban views of the Braun – Hogenberg compendium, dressed figures are used as a means to evoke an authentic atmosphere. The image shows three aristocratic ladies in the foreground – two of them married, one unmarried

– who are dressed according to their status. In the middle ground, there is a rider with a turban, probably a Turk. Whereas the topographically quite precise depiction of the cityscape was in all likelihood made on site, the female figures in their dresses – as well as figures on other views – are probably adoptions from Hans Weigel's costume book of 1577. It depicts upper-class females of German imperial cities such as Nuremberg or Augsburg wearing comparable festive robes (Cf. Füssel 2008: 40). Egidius von der Rye's depiction of Claudiopolis was to remain a one-off for a half of a century.

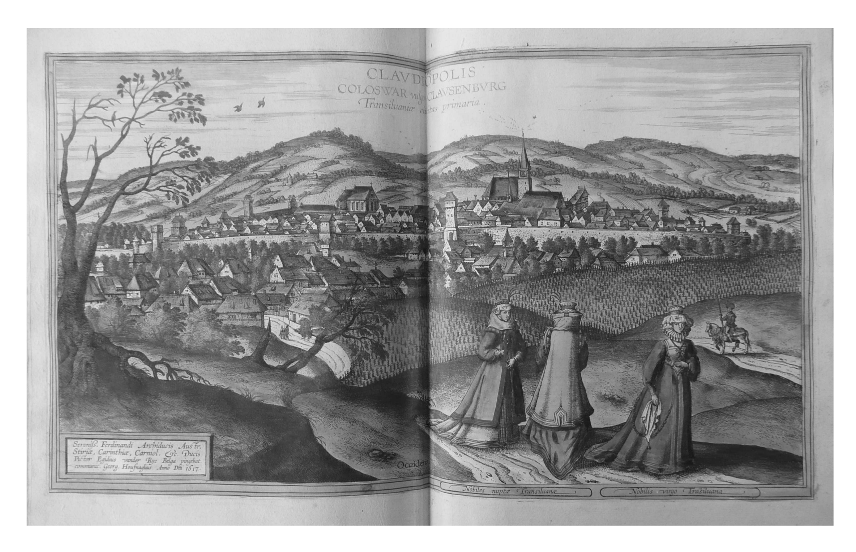


Illustration 2.

Depictions of Transylvanian costumes reappeared in historical-geographical descriptions from the second half of the 17th century. These accounts of the history of Transylvania and its peoples primarily served the purpose to support Saxon claims in their struggle with the Hungarian aristocracy, providing historical evidence for ancient origins of Saxon settlement in the principality. The publications repeatedly referred to Transylvania's past as having formed part of the Roman province of Dacia. The debate on the Roman past of Dacia was part of a humanist project widespread across Europe which aimed at appropriating the classical past with regard to every part of the continent. The superintendent of the Saxon nation, Albertus Hutter, contributed to this discourse in 1591 by advancing a new genealogical construct. Accordingly, the Saxons were presented as descendants of the Dacians and the Goths which had settled

in Transylvania prior to the arrival of the Hungarians. This model was based on the idea of a continuity between ancient Germanic tribes and early modern Germans. It had first been proposed by Aenea Sylvio Piccolomini and later Philipp Melanchton and was subsequently transferred to Transylvania by Saxon students who had studied in Wittenberg (Almasi 2010: 98-103). These concepts enjoyed their golden age in the wake of Mihály Apafi's election as the principality's ruler in 1661, a period during which Transylvanian Saxon historiography underwent a Renaissance. This milieu produced a number of treatises which were addressed at readers abroad (Szegedi 2002: 342).

The first prominent work of this group, a description of Transylvania entitled *Das Alt- und Neue Teutsche Dacia,* was written by Johann Tröster (1640-1670) and published in Nuremberg in 1666 together with two other publications by the same author, among them a description of Poland, *Polnisches Adler-Nest.* They were planned as a cycle intended to inform a Western European audience on the situation in *Dacia* and *Sarmatia*, both border lands of Europe (Szegedi 2002: 317). The volume on Transylvania included etchings showing a Romanian woman and a Romanian shepherd. (Illustration 3) These were made by a Nuremberg artist, H. Jakob Schallenberger, as were the urban vedutas and a map of Transylvania (Tröster 1981; Galavics 1990: 69-71). The costume depictions formed part of the ethnographic description of the Romanian population. Although noting the marginal political status of the Romanians, Tröster sketched a rather arcadian view of their daily life (Tröster 1981: 106).

Only one year after Tröster's publications, Laurentius Toppeltinus (Laurenz Töppelt) (1641-1670) published his treatise on the history of Transylvania and the origins of the nations living there, *Origines et occasus Transylvanorum*, in Lyon (Toppeltinus 1667; Szegedi 2002: 352-355). In this book particular attention was paid to depictions of costumes, which served as principal arguments in order to illustrate the ancient origins of Saxon and Romanian settlement in the principality. Thus, Töppelt compared elements of Saxon costume – such as the coats worn by men and the dresses of Saxon women –to references from classical authors, for instance Cicero's *De oratore* and Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticae (*Toppeltinus 1667: Ch. XII). Additionally, he compared the actual Saxon attire of his day to the depictions of the Dacians on Trajan's Column in Rome, referring to the illustrations and descriptions in the treatise *Historia vtriusque belli Dacici a Traiano Caesare gesti, ex simulachris quae in columna eiusdem Romae* published by Alphonsus Ciacconus (Alfonso Chacón) in 1576 (Toppeltinus 1667: Ch. XII). This was one of the earliest antiquarian publications reconstructing ancient material





Illustration 3.

culture – especially military robes and equipment – by taking iconography as starting point. In the first half of the 17th century, the study of antiquity became a significant section of costume studies. One of the fundamental publications on the history of classical costume to be published during this period was *De re vestiaria* by Ottavio Ferrari (1607-1682), which appeared in different editions in 1642 and 1654 (Herklotz 1999: 166). Thus, Töppelt took into account up-to-date antiquarian research, seeking to add further authority to his arguments by treating costumes as prime evidence. Claims for a direct relationship between Dacian and Saxon attires are also documented by illustrations. The etchings were made by Coenrads Lauwrens, a Flemish master settled in Lyon, after paintings by Paul Feldmayr. Like other artists of his generation, such as Elias Nicolai, Feldmayr came from Kaschau/Košice and worked as a painter in Herrmannstadt/Sibiu at least from1662 onwards (Galavics 1990: 73-74).

This may well explain the motif analogies between some of his illustrations, like the depiction of a couple of Hungarian nobles (Illustrations 4), and the portraits of Johannes Haller and his wife Kata Kornis in the Haller Codex from around 1650 (Galavics 1990: 75-76). (Illustrations 5) The Haller Codex, as well as the “Schirmer Stammbuch” also dating from the 17th century, are important Transylvanian examples of a medium known as ‘Hausbücher’ or ‘Geschlechterbücher’, that is, ‘house or lineage books’ (Szabó 2008; Gündisch 1985). These types of book were fairly common in the German-speaking areas during the late Middle Ages, serving as media to visualise the urban élites’ exclusive self-identity and to ensure their commemoration (Studt 2007: 6).

The parallels between Transylvanian Saxon patricians and those of the main German-speaking areas were not only apparent in the custom of keeping family registers but also in their clothing habits. Effigies as well as portraits testify to the fashionable state of 16th-century Saxon patrician dress, comparable as it was in several respects to the robes worn by members of the urban élites of Nuremberg (Sedler 1993/1994: 5).

Töppelt’s treatise not only depicts representatives of the three established political nations of Transylvania but also includes depictions of Romanian (Wallach) peasants (Toppeltinus 1667: Ch. XIV). Even though the Romanians were politically marginalised at this point in time, Töppelt – as well as Tröster – regarded them as crucial with reference to the construction of the genealogical sequence Dacians – Goths – Getae — Saxons which served to legitimise Saxon privileges against claims by the Hungarian aristocracy. In the context of the political changes of the last two decades of the 17th century, this discourse of autochthonism was effectively replaced by the emphasis on the Saxons’ origins in German-speaking territories, a change in attitude based on legal records and introduced by Valentin Franck von Franckenstein (1643-1697) in his *Breviculus Originum Nationum et praecipue Saxonicae in Transsilvania* published in 1696 in a period of dramatic transformations in Transylvania (Szegedi 2002: 361-66).

Events in the wake of the second siege of Vienna in 1683 transformed the political geography of Eastern Central Europe and shifted cultural boundaries which had existed for almost two centuries. After 1683 the Principality of Transylvania was increasingly caught between the Habsburgs’ and the Ottomans’ vying for supremacy. In 1687, imperial troops reached Transylvania. This was a decisive step towards the incorporation of Transylvania into the Habsburg Empire, which was finalized in 1691 by the *Diploma Leopoldinum*. This decree affirmed the estates’ privileges and guaranteed the status of the four accepted confessions.



Illustration 4.



Illustration 5.

Nevertheless, the Habsburgs gradually began to impose their rule on the formerly autonomous principality. Apart from strengthening central government and administration, the Habsburgs also promoted the Roman Catholic Church, which became a decisive force in the country. Finally, from 1711 onwards, the princes of Transylvania were replaced by imperial governors (Várkonyi 1990; Oborni 2009).

Against the background of these changes to Transylvania's balance of powers, two manuscript genres flourished, which are of particular interest from the perspective of costume history: on the one hand depictions of the sequence of Transylvanian princes and Saxon *comites*, and on the other the costume books.

According to Gizella Cenner Wilhelmb, the former group is represented by three series in Budapest, one in Bucharest (Illustration 6) and one in Bologna. It comprises two types: those consisting only of the depictions themselves, and those combining text and image. Their commentaries are in Latin. At the end of the 18th century, several of these manuscripts were owned by celebrated historians such as Ferenc Széchényi und Daniel Cornides (Cennerné Wilhelmb 1975: 283-286). To this group must be added a further manuscript in the library of the Bruckenthal Museum in Hermannstadt/Sibiu, which has been known for some time yet not hitherto been discussed in the context of this genre. The work in question, '*De Comitis Romanis, Germanis et Hungaris Antiquis'* , written by Johannes Kinder von Friedenberg, contains a series of high-quality medallion busts of Saxon *comites*. Julius Bielz assumed these to have been copies of the portrait series of Saxon *comites* originally decorating the hall of the Saxon Count Valentin Franck von Franckenstein' house on the Herrmannstadt *Ring* until the building's demolition in the 19th century (Bielz 1934: 2). The lives of the Saxon *comites* were preceded by portraits of the Hungarian king János (Johannes) Szapolyai and the Polish king István (Stephan) Báthory – who had also been princes of Transylvania – as well as those of the princes Christoph Báthory (r. 1576-1581) and Mihály Apafi II (r. 1690), the last prince shown as a youth (Kinder von Friedenberg *De Comitis Romanis:*1-3; 30). A comparable design of princely portraits in the shape of medallions can be found in the series attributed to Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli and preserved in Bologna (Marsigli, *Ritratti e stemmi*). This was made in the context of one of his frequent stays as imperial legate in Transylvania between 1687 and 1701 which also resulted in cartographic works commissioned from him by the Habsburgs (Gianola 1930: 14; Amaldi 1930: 15-28).

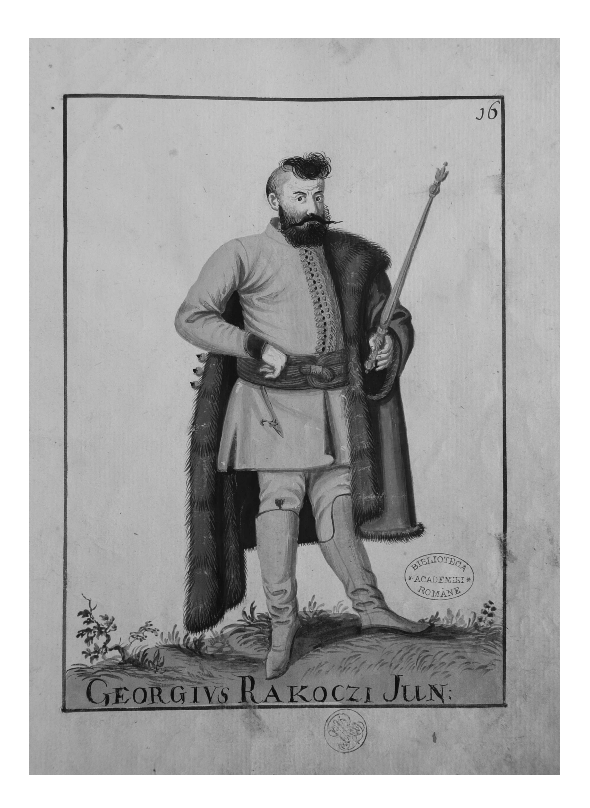


Illustration 6.

Marsigli's *La popolazione di Transilvania composta di varie nazioni, di diverse lingue, religioni, usi e vestiti* was also written at the turn of the 18th century. In this manuscript – today preserved in the university library at Bologna – Marsigli describes the seven most important nationalities coexisting in the territory: Hungarians, Saxons, Vlachs or Romanians, Greeks, Armenians, Anabaptists and Gypsies. Marsigli defines each group's areas of settlement, language, religion and professions and visualises their respective clothing habits by means of illustrations. Only half of the original forty-one folio-sized images survive (Gianola 1930: 16; Amaldi 1930: 39).

Within his presentation of the horizontal layers of differentiating the people according to language, religion and clothing, Marsigli adapted the sartorial taxonomy of printed costume series to the realities of a smaller but geographically well-defined region. This system was followed by nearly all future costume books. Greatest attention is directed towards

those sections of the population which had the most significant impact in terms of politics, confession, and size. Thus, the Székely – though not listed explicitly by Marsigli – are also represented accordingly. The smaller ethnic and confessional groups are represented by one pair of pictures each. While the Armenians with their attires of oriental character are identified through the captions, other groups are also characterised by depictions of their activities, such as the Gypsies as tinkers and the Anabaptists (Habans) as potters (Amaldi 1930: 38-45; Gianola 1930: 17-21). Without doubt, the latter serve to visualise the Principality's confessional tolerance and thus assume a special role.

The series *Habitus variarum Nationum in Regno Transylvaniae accurentium utriusque sexus humani patent*, in all likelihood the second one to be made and now owned by the British Library, shows close affinities to the Bolognese one, as evinced by its similar number of folios, analogous motifs, and not least the Latin captions. The watermarks prove this volume to be of Transylvanian origin, too. It was brought to England soon after as it is recorded among Sir Hans Sloane's collection – one of the cores of what was to become the British Museum – as early as the first half of the 18th century (Galavics 1990: 91-92, 100).

Based on the vast number of costume books preserved outside Transylvania, some scholars have presumed that these series of Transylvanian costume depictions were originally produced as a medium of visual propaganda in the context of the diplomatic initiatives pursued by the principality at the Protestant courts of Europe (the Netherlands, England, Denmark and Sweden) in the 1680s. These efforts were made in order to gain support in their endeavour to secure the special status of Transylvania with its corporative and religious liberties (Galavics 1990: 80-82). Such an explanation is certainly justified and also underlined by the internal arrangement of the costume series mentioned above. In the case of the London series, however, an alternative interpretation should be taken into consideration: the exchange of objects within the scholarly community. Thus, Sir Hans Sloane maintained contacts to the Hungarian cartographer and historian Mátyás Bél, and he was also prominent within the Royal Society which counted Marsigli among its members (Galavics 1990: 80-82: Stoye 1994: 292-294). The growing English interest in Transylvania is also demonstrated by the fact that Lord William Paget, British Ambassador at the Sublime Porte, stayed in the region for some while during his return journey to London in 1702, and even took a Transylvanian painter, Jeremias Stranover – brother of Tobias Stranover – back to England. It was he who probably painted the costume book, *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of all the Nations in Transylvania*



Illustration 7.

(London, British Library) – the cover of which shows a Turk (Galavics 1990: 91-92). (Illustration 7)

The layout combining the title with an image of an Ottoman probably results from a compilation of several folios rather than forming a conscious reminiscence of Transylvania's pre-1699 status. Apart from a group of upright depictions of men and women in oriental dress, the convolute is dominated by representations specifically relating to Transylvania and marked as a coherent ensemble by their captions which follow a single design. Other than the London album, only the collection

of Transylvanian costumes now preserved in Graz includes oriental figures, such as a Janissary, a praying Turk, or a Crimean Tatar (*Kostüm Bilderbuch*, Graz: 52 r; 74 r; 76 r). However, these were taken from the well-known “Recueil Ferriol”, a series of engravings illustrating Ottoman dignitaries and representatives of each nation and religion living within the Ottoman Empire. Commissioned by the French ambassador at the Porte, and based on paintings by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737), the work was published in 1714 (Le Hay Ferriol 1714-1715: 78; 42; 84). These motif adoptions clearly prove that the Graz codex cannot have been created around 1700, as hitherto assumed. Furthermore, the London and Graz convolutes testify to foreign collectors’ and patrons’ picturesque imagination in perceiving Transylvania as forming part of the Orient, a motive probably as relevant as their interest in the principality’s actual ethnic and denominational make-up.

The costume depictions in the *Trachtencabinett von Siebenbürgen (Rosenfeld Codex)*, now deposited in Bucharest may have been made around 1725, probably at the same time as the Graz album. The Bucharest and Graz collections show parallels to the Bologna album as well as the two London convolutes, in terms of both their motifs and their conception. All these collections provide an extensive presentation of Transylvania’s vertical stratification only in the case of the three established nations (Hungarians, Saxons, Székely) with political representation – they received up to twenty-five images. Within these groups the differentiation runs along the lines of class, offices, professions, and age.

The albums are also comparable with regard to the considerable attention they devote to representing the Romanians who formed the largest group among the Transylvanian population, even though they were largely excluded from political participation.

Romanians were presented primarily as peasants or craftsmen, though images of some representatives of the élite of Wallachia – boyars and bishops – were added. Thus, the cosmopolitan, tolerant character of Transylvania was emphasised once again.

A comparative examination of the composition of attires and of shows clear analogies, especially among the Hungarian and Saxon elites. Altogether, these clothes appear highly antiquated in contrast to Central and Western European fashion of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. While female attires – especially those of the Saxons – still appeared to be in the tradition of the medieval double layer of *cotte* and *surcote*, the robes worn by Hungarian and Saxon men were clearly indebted to Oriental models (Sedler 2004: 58-59). The mantles (dolmans) and boots (tschisme) were regarded as the most prominent borrowings from the Turks.

Therefore, ethnic attribution among the élite was possible through particular accessories rather than dress in general – a phenomenon evidently reflected correctly in the costume books. The upper echelons of Saxon society were thus identified by their staffs, while the Hungarian aristocrats bore weapons. The clergy could be differentiated by their headgear which reflected the areas where they had studied (either – in case of the Calvinists – the Netherlands or Germany among the Lutherans) (Illustration 8). In spite of these punctual differences, Calvinist and Lutheran clergy had far more in common. This becomes especially obvious in their preference for colourful robes with fur trimmings by which they also attempted to emulate the attire of the Hungarian nobility. In this aim the clergy was probably encouraged by its ennoblement decreed by Prince Gábor Bethlen in 1629. In the second half of the century, church authorities repeatedly tried to counter these tendencies through sumptuary legislation. The question of appropriate dress was a major issue for the Reformed Church because clothing was regarded as one major strategy for the visualization of Reformed religious values as well as a marker of social and professional difference within Transylvanian society (Murdock 2000: 183-186). The limited impact of these restrictive measures is not only shown indirectly by the costume book illustrations – in spite of their typifying tendency – but also by a number of inventories of the estates of Lutheran ministers from the period 1683-1743. These list not only clothes in conspicuous colours but also sophisticated accessories such as the garnet-coloured 'Felsche' (ceremonial coats) und 'kozakische Hüte' (fur hats with agraffes made of precious stones) (Sedler 1993/1994: 5).

From the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 19th centuries, sumptuary legislation was repeatedly passed in Transylvania (Klusch 2003). These laws aimed not only at the visualisation of the hierarchical order of the urban population but also formed part of the process of strengthening the designation of national identity. This context clarifies a prescription issued in Bistrița (Germ. Bistritz; Hung. Beszterce) in 1644 against cutting the hair "in the Turkish or Hungarian way" and against "yellow shoes and Hungarian clothes" while a 1701 regulation passed at Băgaciu (Germ. Bogeschdorf) banned the use of Armenian hats and 'Cisme' (Hungarian boots) (Sedler 2004: 61).



Illustration 8.

It seems, however, as if these regulations were also ignored by the ruling Saxon élite, as becomes obvious from a comparison of the portraits of Andreas Fleischer, *comes Saxorum* between 1662 and 1671, and Prince György Rákóczi II (died 1660) in the abovementioned depictions of the sequence of Transylvanian princes and Saxon *comites*: the former's hairstyle clearly followed the model of the latter. The programmatic claim of Fleischer's representation is underlined by the fact that it is repeated on his effigy in Hermannstadt parish church. (Illustrations 6 and 9)



Illustration 9.

Furthermore, sumptuary laws were also passed by Saxon towns in order to exert social control: The regulations were primarily targeted at lower-class townsfolk (especially servants) and their families. In limiting the use of colourful “foreign” materials and expensive furs, it was ensured that the lower classes did not adopt the robes of the upper echelons of society. These enjoyed not only the privilege to use better-quality fabrics but also to apply colours: gold, red, green, violet and orange. Clothing of the lower strata of society had to be confined to the colours blue, grey, or brown. An instructive case study is provided by the city of Braşov / Kronstadt. There, the authorities passed sumptuary legislation four times during the years 1673-1693 alone, suggesting that these laws actually had the contrary effect in fuelling the social aspirations of the disadvantaged groups (Treiber-Netoliczka 1959).

Moral reasoning informing both Western and Eastern European sumptuary laws are hardly present in the costume series, though. Prostitutes are the only representatives of socially marginal groups. These are identified primarily by captions, and only secondarily through their conspicuous hairstyles or luxurious clothing and jewellery. Depictions of prostitutes are not unusual within the genre of the costume book. But with

regard to the regulations passed in the Saxon cities, prostitution ('Hurerey') could also entail adultery and concubinage. Together with dress regulation, the public humiliation of individuals accused of improper sexual behaviour played a vital role in measures taken in order to implement new concepts of morality in the public and private sphere (Murdock 2000: 192-194; Pakucs 2003-2004: 191-192). Stigmatisation through clothing and a public ritual of humiliation is only shown on one page of the *The true and exact dresses* London album. There, a woman characterized by the caption as a "whore" is shown barefoot in dark (mourning) robes, with her head covered, carrying a birch and a candle (London; *The true and exact dresses* Ill. 66). (Illustration 10)



Illustration 10.

In the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age, sumptuary legislation was also deployed in order to brand particular ethnic or religious groups such as the Jews (Jütte 1994). This practice can also be observed in 17th-century Transylvania. In 1650, the diet stipulated that Jews wear Jewish dress only. Accordingly, the wearing of "Hungarian dress" was an offence punishable by the payment of 200 guilders (Carmilly-Weinberger 1994, 57-58; Gyémánt 2005, 196-197). This repressive stance lasted until 1678 when Prince Mihály (Michael) Apafi I decreed measures to protect the Jews. The Jews' precarious legal position was reflected in the representations of their dress. Irrespective of their gender, Jews wear loose garments of oriental appearance. In the case of the Jewish couple depicted in the London costume book, the garments are in the discriminatory colour of yellow, whereas other costume books – such as that at Graz or the Bucharest Rosenfeld Codex – depict them in green, a colour especially popular with patrician burghers (*Kostüm Bilderbuch,* Graz: 29 r; *Trachtencabinett von Siebenbürgen* (Codex Rosenfeld) Bucharest, Ill 116).

Due to intensifying contacts with Vienna court culture, the attire of the Transylvanian social élite was also gradually assimilated to Baroque and Biedermeier fashions respectively. The Graz costume book already depicts figures wearing wigs. At the same time, patrician robes undergo a decline in view of their previous distinction as 'Saxon national costume'. The costume books reflect this development through the increasing number of images depicting the urban middle classes and servants (Sedler 1993-1994: 6).

One of the last attempts to accompany costume illustrations with an academic text was undertaken by Daniel Joseph Leonhard (1786-1853) in the early 19th century. His manuscript entitled "Die Bewohner Siebenbürgens" [The Inhabitants of Transylvania] (1816), preserved in the library of the Bruckenthal Museum in Sibiu / Hermannstadt, contains several illustrations by his own hand. Though of modest quality, they form an important visual record from a period of change, marked by the dissolution of the established social hierarchies under the gradual impact of modernisation especially in the cities. Accordingly, Leonhard's principal motivation was his intention to document the old structures. A grammar school teacher and subsequently the parish priest at Orăştie (German: Broos; Hungarian: Szászváros), he was also a scholar and early protagonist of *Landeskunde* or *Vaterlandskunde* – research on the specifically regional history and culture – in Transylvania which was to play a crucial role in the academic life of the region throughout the 19th century. As Marsigli had done more than a century earlier, Leonhard dealt with the largest ethnicities of Transylvania: the Hungarians, including the



Illustration 11.

Székely, the Romanians, the Saxons, and the Gypsies. Among the Saxons he also describes the “Germans immigrated later”, the ‘Landler’. (Illustration 11) As smaller ethnic groups he addresses the Bulgarians, Russians, Serbs, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. Leonhard consistently endeavours to complement his personal observations by historical facts such as sumptuary legislation. At the same time, denominational differences do not play a significant role in his illustrations (Irimie /Schmidt 1961). Among them are several adoptions from contemporary works by the Neuhauser family, for instance the image of the Gypsy Voivode which is an exact copy of Joseph Neuhauser’s 1806 etching (Leonhard 1816: Ill 11).

Members of the Neuhauser family of artists – which had migrated from Austria to Hermannstadt at the end of the 18th century – contributed decisively to the further popularisation of the costumes of the various ethnicities living in Transylvania, both through their images and the school they founded in Hermannstadt (Bielz 1960). Their costume illustrations were not pioneering works as a series of etchings depicting inhabitants of Hungary and Transylvania had been published previously by Johann Martin Stock in 1778 (Fülemile 1993: 152). Whereas Joseph Neuhauser had drawn idyllic sceneries with Romanian shepherds or gypsies, his brother Franz devised a series depicting a “Siebenbürger Jahrmarkt”

("Transylvanian fair"). Carrying on from traditional costume book images and based on own sketches executed in Herrmannstadt, the completed work was printed as earliest multi-colour lithography by Joseph Lanzedelly the Elder in Vienna in 1819 (Galavics 1990: 121-124) (Illustration 11).

The idea of Tranylvania as a melting pot of diverse nations and denominations lived on in the costume lithographies published by Georg Gottlieb Schnell in 1842 (Klein 2006).

Thus, the idea of a multiethnic and multiconfessional Transylvania was maintained further. This concept enjoyed a last flourishing in the 1920s writings of Károly Kós (1883-1977), the most important propagandist of the idea of Transylvanism (Kós 1920; 1923 and 1929). This movement enjoyed its main support among Hungarian and, to a lesser degree, Saxonian as well as Romanian intellectuals and artists and sought to establish a specifically regional Transylvanian identity transcending ethnic differences and national allegiances and to elevate the region to the status of an autonomous, multi-ethnic province within the Romanian state (Pomogáts 1983; Balogh 1999).

Kós's key publications in this context are a book published in 1923, entitled *Erdély kövei / Die Steine Siebenbürgens / The Stones of Transylvania* and evidently taking its inspiration from John Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* and the volume *Erdély. Kultúrtörténeti vázlat* [Sketch of the cultural history of Transylvania]. Therein, Kós described Transylvania as a region characterized by a unique synthesis of the architectural elements of each of its ethnicities, an argument he emphasized by illustrating the book with a series of linocuts. These depict well-known architectural monuments and cityscapes, as well as various ethnic groups in their traditional attires (Kós 1923). (Illustration 12) The urban views chosen for the illustrations clearly took late 17th - and early 18th-century models as points of reference, as did the choice of ethnic costumes. Thus Kós consciously contrasted the fraught political present of the 1920s with a past golden age of the principality of Transylvania as a quasi retrospectively utopian ideal.

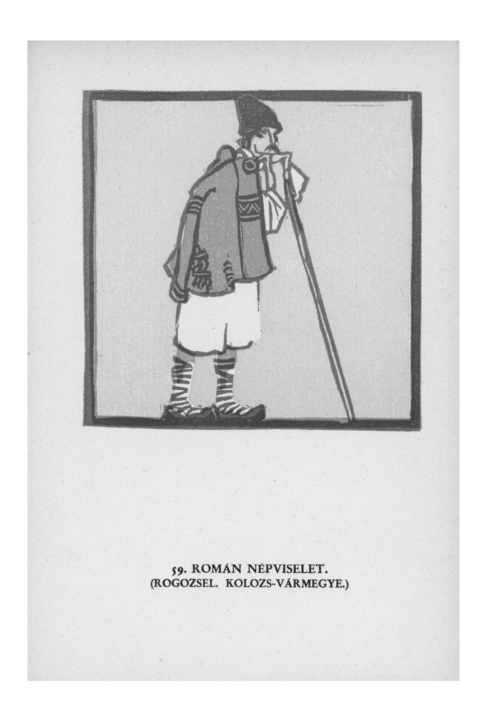


Illustration 12.

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REGIONAL COSTUMES AND TEXTILE CULTURE

JEAN-PIERRE LETHUILLIER

My remarks, at the opening of this conference dedicated to the Balkans, are to explain my personal reflection upon the development of research done in France on the subject of regional costumes. It does seem as if an important change is taking place, which is for the most part a transformation in the type of issues raised: those which in the past have been focused on describing expressions of identity are now linked to other approaches such as economic history or, newer still, the history of the body.

Attachment to the expression of cultural identity through dress is great on both ends of Europe. Clothing in the Balkans makes use of the oppositions between ethnic groups, some of whom claim to free themselves from outside domination − notably Ottoman. In France, one of the oldest national spaces on the continent, these costumes more simply express local character within this space, in a way whose conflictual nature has not been proven, even when regionalist movements have made − generally later – use of the costumes. This does not take away from the fact that the study of regional dress had for years been tackled in terms of the expression of identity: identities which designate not only a geographical area but a social horizon (such as wealth or age groups). The attention paid by ethnologists to life's rites of passage, and so to subsequent changes in costume (for example in the succession: child, girl of marriageable age, wife, widow), had been particularly important since the beginning of the twentieth century. The construction of knowledge was in part founded on a simple need: faced with a general public of city-dwellers uprooted one or two generations earlier, sensitive to regional characteristics but incapable of decoding the subtleties of the language of the costumes in the matter of social differences, ethnologists worked to reconstruct the latter. It is enough to notice with what care Creston, in Brittany, distinguishes *coiffes* (women's headdresses) used for celebrations, mourning and half-mourning (Creston 1953-1961). The difficulty of the exercise ended up attracting linguists, following the example of Yves Delaporte, who incidentally

found the most eloquent sartorial materials in the costumes of Central Europe (Delaporte 1980).

This taste for deciphering of the codes of dress was even more preoccupying because studies by historians had long been absent, until the end of the twentieth century. Even while the history of material culture, introduced by the work of Braudel or Le Goff, was finally finding its place in France, meaning the late 1960s and early 1970s, contempt for regional costumes was still obvious. In *Histoire de la France rurale*, in 1975, Maurice Agulhon purely and simply excluded them from the historical arena (Juillard 1976 : 324-325). They appeared only for what they represent in tourists' holiday destinations: the artificial and often false objects of popular spectacle. When a history of regional costumes did exist, it floated "on a cushion of air" unanchored to any reality, making use of a few simple diagrammes, not exempt from picturesque or regionalistic ambitions, and ignoring wider economic and cultural implications.

This has no longer been the case for several years, as is shown by the large number of exhibitions organised in different regions, so by the exhibition catalogues available in France today (Blondel 1995 and 2009 ; Séréna-Allier 1998 ; Wolff and Neth 2009). Museum researchers and ethnologists who promote these undertakings reject the easy way out taken by the first museographers and pay particular attention to the dating of objects, the search for their geographical origin, and the examination of material and fabrication techniques. In doing this, they come up against observations that do not square well with the affirmations of earlier years: the embroidery which decorated the *coiffes* of many regions in the nineteenth century, far from being the product of the patience and the skill of the peasant women who wore them, were successively fabricated by workshops in Lorraine, then in Touraine and sold throughout the greater Paris basin (Baudrier and Kervella 2004 ; Langard 1975 ; Valprémy 1999). The most beautiful Breton costumes of the twentieth century − including those of Plougastel − were made with material, colors and all, that came from Normandy, Alsace, the Lyons or Saint Etienne region, or even from Bohemia1. This then implies that Brittany was opened economically to the outside and paid attention to modernity rather than being over-cautiously withdrawn into the "homeland" or tradition. In short, it is becoming more and more difficult to work on regional costumes whilst avoiding the usual economic and cultural questions of historians.

[1] For the totality of this subject, consult the catalogue of the Rennes exhibition, Lethuillier. 2007.

At the same time, historians and sociologists, as a result of the work most notably of Daniel Roche and Philippe Perrot, have taken possession of dress in another manner (Perrot 1981 ; Roche 1989). Certainly their books are either about Parisian clothing or do not directly discuss regional costume, but the issues they raise can also pertain to the latter. Nicole Pellegrin did much to renew these queries, for clothing in general as for regional costumes2. This renewed work heads in two directions. On the one hand, it is an exercise in the radical criticism of sources, the pieces of clothing conserved as iconographic documents are the products of an instrumentalisation conducted for tourist or regionalistic purposes, etc. The latter fundamentally assumes that selection and enhancement had already been done, of which a historian should be wary. On the other hand, the history of appearances and the history of the body call for reinterpretation of clothing and the regional costume.

My reflection today owes much to those of my predecessors. From this general, simple presentation, I would merely like to attract attention to the complexity of these interconnections, links that preclude the discovery of unequivocal explanations in the history of regional costumes, explanations limited to one field only. Nicole Pellegrin once likened clothing to a "complete social fact" (Pellegrin 1993). I would like to stay in this line of thinking and learn the lessons of this remark by stretching it further, beyond the social domain, using the example I understand best, that of Brittany. This will lead to a reflection upon the notion of "textile and clothing culture." Its main function is to introduce some complexity, showing that it is important to go beyond the simple, direct relationship to the material and refer to economic, cultural, and sensory practices in order to truly understand the subject. These practices are also independent in regards to behaviours linked to cultural identity, so facts surrounding clothing habits seem complex and should be interpreted prudently.

The Material of Breton Costumes in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

The spectacular entrance of cotton in the western textile universe has been known about for a long time. From the early nineteenth century onward, the cotton industry experienced rapid growth, carried forward by the decline in the price of raw cotton − it declined by half between 1820 and 1860 − and the growth of productivity: "This price decrease is the

[2] Among the numerous publications of Nicole Pellegrin, see the pioneering exhibition *L’aiguille et le sabaron* (Pellegrin. 1983) and also Pellegrin 1984.

greatest of all those achieved by industrial goods in general, and by textiles in particular." (Caron 1995 : 127) François Caron highlighted the great elasticity of the demand for cotton fabrics: the increase in revenue spread first and foremost upon these products. In all, French cotton consumption multiplied by six between 1815–1824 and 1865–1874. At the same time, the "nationalization" of the domestic market was progressing and became "complete" with the construction of the railroad network: in Brittany, this construction mostly occurred after the 1840s.

Serge Chassagne, and more recently Aziza Gril-Mariotte, emphasized the importance of cotton, particularly Indian cotton, in the business and industrial strategies targeting eighteenth-century Britanny (Chassagne 1971 ; Gril-Mariotte 2009) ; on the other hand, for the *départements* of Finistère or the Morbihan, Marie-Pierre Sclippa and Eugénie Margoline-Plot revealed discrepancies and delays in rural areas (Sclippa 2009 ; Margoline-Plot 2009). In the nineteenth century especially, cotton was not the most important material in regional costumes. Breton wardrobes of the first half of the nineteenth century are poorly understood due to the incomplete and brief nature of post-death inventories from this period. The drawings of François Hippolyte Lalaisse, which specifically describe Breton costumes, serve as a basis for this study. They were done in two campaigns, in 1843 and 1844, in order to prepare the edition of lithographs consacrated to Breton costumes in 1845 : *Galerie armoricaine*, by the Nantes publisher Charpentier (Delouche 2002). Along with the preparatory drawings, which often speak for themselves, Lalaisse left annotations in pencil about the variations he observed in local costumes, colors or cloth. The collections of the National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, today known as the Museum of the Civilizations of Europe and the Mediterranean, were used by Simone Lossignol to make observations on the drawings in the publication of the book3 : I in turn used this information, crossed with that of Lalaisse. It appears that, in these costumes for special occasions that interested the elites of small towns and the countryside, the place of cotton was limited overall, and confined to certain areas of clothing, contrary to what was customary in other provinces, beginning with neighbouring Normandy.

The male costume, in its fundamental structure, was made of wool or heavy linen canvas. On the upper part of the body, vest or jacket, wool

[3] Cuisenier, Delouche and Lossignol, 2002. In the next pages of this paper, I shall refer to the reproductions of the book's drawings (vol 2) and to the comments of Simone Lossignol (vol 1) by naming the town of reference in the text and by indicating through a reference the number of the paper in the book (apparent in the reproductions of the work).

appeared in twenty of twenty-one cases, the other being a vest of canvas. For the lower part of the body, canvas was more common, twelve cases for only six cases of wool; in five other cases, there was alternance between seasons: wool in winter, canvas in the summer. Gaiters, which covered the legs, were of wool, canvas or leather. Cotton only appeared in very rare cases, for the tie and the cuffs of a costume (that of Kerlouan4) (fig. 1), and for a madras belt (in Ploemeur5, next to Lorient and the India Company port). Belts were most often flannel or leather. The greatest "luxury" was provided by velvet, either as trimming or as fabric (Corps-Nuds6) (fig. 2). Naturally, these were fancy dress or ceremonial costumes. As for work clothes, canvas is found in smocks, and wool for the clothes of seaweed harvesters and sailors (*le kabig*). During the week, the men of Faouët7 wore canvas. In the poorest regions, there was not even ceremonial clothing: in La Feuillée8 (fig. 3), coarse wool is the only material used in all pieces of clothing. The female costume only slightly differed from the preceding pattern: as far as pieces whose main functions were to clothe the body are concerned, wool, canvas and *berlinge*9 easily carry off the prize. Wool is the sole material − for the thirteen cases which could be observed − of corsets and bodices. It seems as if skirts were equally wool, canvas and *berlinge*. When dresses appeared, they were made of wool, which was sometimes quite valuable, such as the merino wool that made up the dress from Pluméliau10 (fig. 4). The wedding gown of the bride from Kerlouan11 (fig. 5) was made of damask and lace.

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[4] Kerlouan, *département* of Finistère, *canton* of Lesneven. “Finistère, Kerlouan”, paper 123.

[5] Ploemeur, *département* of Morbihan, *canton* of Ploemeur. Feuillet 41, no title.

[6] Corps-Nuds, *département* of Ille-et-Vilaine, *canton* of Janzé. “Cornu, laitière de Rennes”, paper 90.

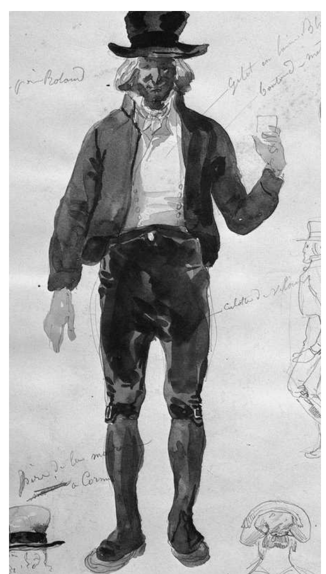
[7] Le Faouët, *département* of Morbihan, *canton* of Faouët. “Morbihan, Le Faouët”, paper 46.

[8] La Feuillée, *département* of Finistère, *canton* of Huelgoat. “Homme de La Feuillée”, paper 80.

[9] *Berlinge* is the local name for drugged, which mixes different textile fibers in the same fabric. In popular circles it was often hemp or linen and wool, which softened the rough contact of hemp with the skin.

[10] Pluméliau, *département* du Morbihan, *canton* de Baud. “Morbihan, Pluméliau”, paper 36.

[11] Kerlouan. “Finistère, costume de mariée, Kerlouan,” paper 125.

Figures 1 and 2.




Figures 3 and 4.




Figures 5 and 6.

This is different for the other pieces, where cotton was a bit more common. In shawls, madras or printed cotton won out over lace (although canvas is found in Plougastel12). Aprons were of wool or canvas in five cases but silk was more common, with nine occurrences. Collars were of fine cloth, but it is not certain whether that means linen or muslin (which appeared in Jugon13) (fig. 6). The most complicated case was assuredly that of headdresses: coloured ribbons played an important role and were sometimes completed by the use of paper, also coloured. But for the most part, fine cloth was used, meaning linen, muslin (cotton) and lace (linen or cotton). *Sous-coiffes* or bonnets, when indicated, were of canvas; and above all, often the *coiffes* themselves, or even their edges, appeared only as "trimmed" or "decorated" with lace. Linen seemed essential in Breton *coiffes* in the mid-nineteenth century. Wool was more frequent in everyday work *coiffes*, called *capots.* Printed percale was nevertheless a widespread alternative − but not a base material − in an area stretching from Ploermel and Hennebont to western Finistère.

[12] Pougastel-Daoulas, *département* of Finistère, *canton* de Daoulas. “Finistère, femme de Plougastel,” paper 132.
[13] Jugon, *département* of Côtes-d’Armor, *canton* de Jugon. Paper 100, no title.

These observations leave a few questions to be answered however. For one, the indications given by Lalaisse in terms of "wool" or "canvas" do not give information on the quality of the cloth itself: the wool could have simply been frieze; the canvas could have been made with *reparon* (low-quality linen) thread. Lalaisse contented himself with noting in pencil the "coarse" character of certain clothing (La Feuillée). Hemp cloth was never mentioned, although it was included in many men's shirts and breeches. What is more, the opposition between linen canvas and wool was often doubtlessly reduced by the weaving of *berlinges*. Whatever uncertainties may remain, the part played by cotton in these decorations was minor, limited to ornamentation rather than in the constitution of the clothing. In this way, Brittany contrasted with other regions.

Thanks to conserved pieces of clothing, it is well-known that Provence relied widely on cotton for women's clothing from the eighteenth century onward. This contrast was to be expected, for reasons of climate as well as for links with commercial channels introducing this exotic fiber to France at this period, notably the port of Marseille. Thus in the nineteenth century, the Nice area dressed in cotton, its mountainous countryside, with its more severe climate, stayed more faithful to wool. However climate does not explain everything. Normandy is no warmer than Brittany, rather it is colder. However women's clothing there relied largely on cotton from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward, as is seen in drawings and lithographs (fig. 7). The dresses conserved in the museum of Martainville, near Rouen, are cotton. Cotton was tolerated there because it was compensated for by the use of capes and coats worn over cotton corsets and dresses. In Normandy, women's clothing widely made use of cotton. This is not the case in Brittany, and Lalaisse's drawings account for the contrasts between the two regions.

Economic determinism, such as compartmentalization or insular reliance on local resources, did not weigh upon the Bretons' choices: they widely relied on trade circuits to supply themselves in wool, velvet, silk and even cotton when necessary. Leaving aside the question of strictly jewellery and ornaments, the richest materials obviously did not come from Brittany, even the wool itself. Lalaisse pointed out the use of merino wool, and the most beautiful fabrics are known to have come from Normandy (Elbeuf) or the Southwest (Montauban). Those who dictated fashion did not hesitate to strut about in textiles imported from other regions : in Bigouden country at the beginning of the twentieth century, people wearing Montauban fabric were called *montobaned*. The numerous ribbons which made up belts or adorned *coiffes* came from Lyons or Alsace. As for madras shawls, silk aprons, muslin of *coiffes* or sleeves, there

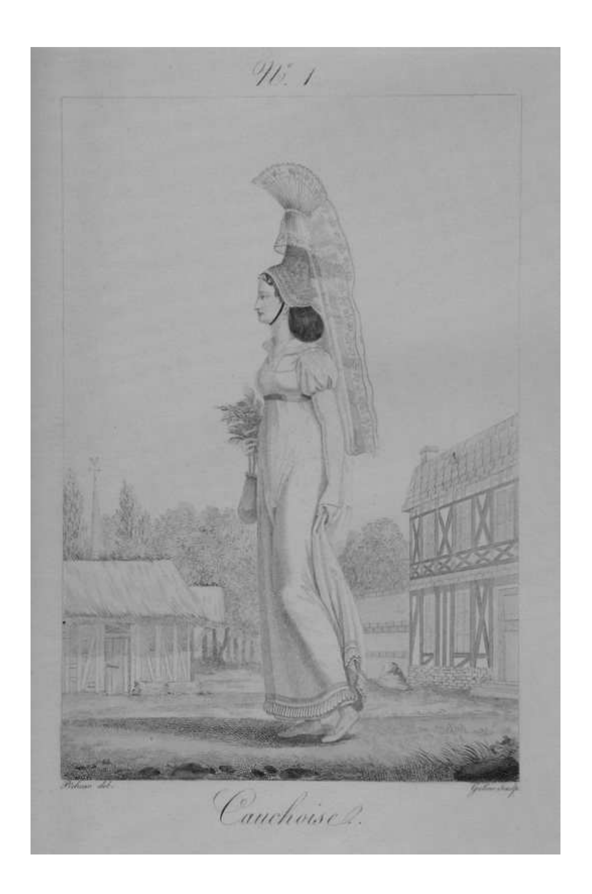


Figure 7.

is no need to say they were "imported" products. Before the railroad, their transport was assured by peddling or being driven to fairs.

Cotton could have made larger inroads into the province than it did, including the countryside. It did not succeed in doing this because Bretons did not want it. A historian's work is to understand these choices. A first hypothesis is to reflect on the high price of wool compared to cotton: it's a characteristic of a conspicuous strategy, and it is known that regional costumes were first and foremost the finery of the rich. The explanation however does not go for linen and hemp, which were just as essential: this leads to the examination of the importance of how it took root locally.

Linen and Hemp in Brittany

The clash of cotton with linen and hemp was not only – nor even principally – economic; it was cultural. For centuries Brittany had produced these two fibers in great quantity. It is impossible here to dwell on the importance of this fact, which gave rise to the work of several generations of researchers − particularly in regards to linen − and abundant historical literature14, which has been widely used below. Linen canvas made in Brittany bore different names depending on the region: *crées*, *bretagnes*, *olonnes*. It was destined for the most part for exportation, towards the British world then towards Spain and Latin America. Its long economic history developed between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, with a peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This traditional and long flourishing trade was in crisis at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the commercial blockade linked to the Franco-English conflict, and later to the independence of the Spanish colonies. This crisis had already brought about real poverty which raised the concern of the authorities. It was deadly in the long run, but – and this is important – nothing seemed sure for contemporaries before the collapse of the 1830s and 1840s. In Côtes d'Armor in the 1830s, the battle was still on to improve thread quality, to modernize the trade. The *Conseil Général* preoccupied itself with this question each year and a team was sent to Flanders to find solutions, but the leading merchants threw in the towel in 1840. The Léon region was of the same bent, and the creation of the Linen Society of Landerneau in 1845 was a somewhat defensive operation which postponed the ultimate failure to the last two years of the nineteenth century. When Lalaisse did his drawings, in 1843-1844, linen and hemp were still present in wardrobes across the region.

It is doubtlessly possible to explore the question from a purely economic point of view, by considering the "linen and hemp advantage" to be equal to the abundant cotton mills of Seine-Maritime: both cases called upon local economic processes. This approach would be too simplistic, and in Brittany's case it is important to go further to look at social issues linked to the linen and hemp trade, as well as at the place the trade held in the occupations and the preoccupations of the workforce.

Linen and hemp gave work to the peasants who produced them, retted them, ground them and bleached them, and to the artisans who wove them.

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[14] See most notably the work of Jean Martin, especially Martin 1998 and of Jean Tanguy, especially Tanguy 1994. More recently, the Dourdon association completed our technical and cultural knowledge of linen : *L'or bleu. Le lin au pays de Landerneau-Daoulas*, Association Dourdon, 2005.

Linen also occupied the merchants who imported seeds from the Baltic the others who transported the cloth for sale in Bordeaux or Spain. Specific skills were required at every step of the process, skills which had the originality of being complementary. Beyond what could be called a professional culture, there existed a common preoccupation which interested city- and country-dwellers alike. Coherent social groups were born out of this trade, following the example of sometimes extremely wealthy peasant-merchants who dominated *léonarde* society, the *Juloded* (Élégoët 1996). The traces of this trade also appear in religious heritage, as in more than one area fortunes were reinvested within parishes themselves: churches, ossuaries, sculpted calvaries, and altarpieces (fig. 8) were the pride and joy of villages while also serving as a framework for their spiritual lives. In the nineteenth century, when this economy entered a recession, the remains of the former culture abounded, even in the landscape: waterholes for retting or laundries for bleaching. Pilgrimages, blessed sprigs of boxwood or crosses planted in parcels of land after sowing were as much to protect as to measure the growth of the linen. These gestures both religious and superstitious were echoed by multiple rhymes and proverbs, which were still collected in great number at the end of the twentieth century by Jean-Yves Andrieux and Daniel Giraudon where peasant linen scotches had still been working some decades earlier, for companies from the north of France: "images of a certain conception of human and commercial relationships, incontestably preindustrial." (Andrieux and Giraudon 1990: 79)

The place of linen and hemp was then not only an economic affair: it justified social roles, both individual and collective, and bore with it know-how, wisdom and festive culture. This attachment to local resources and the lifestyle surrounding them is still insufficient to explain Breton behaviour, however. Linen, hemp and even wool clothing are also suitable from the point of view of the history of the body.



Figure 8.

The Body and Its Clothing

I would like to develop here two successive points of view which both link this study to the body: one is the contact with clothing, the other is the sense of modesty.

Hemp renders fabric rough and coarse, and is often judged uncomfortable. In the seventeenth century, Madame de Montespan, who Louis XIV had removed from court after she had been his mistress, wallowed in her repentance and forced herself, by way of a hair shirt, to wear a hemp shirt that she bore while praying for the forgiveness of her sins. In the nineteenth century, this "torment" was the common fate of Breton peasants since undershirts were often made of hemp. Yet the peasants found good qualities in it. Listen to Pierre-Jakez Hélias, talking of the years before the First World War:

> "… nothing equaled hemp shirts for everyday work. They generously drank up your sweat without making you cold. They were coats of mail for poor knights of the earth. Worn day and night, they looked no greyer at

> the end of the week than at the beginning. A benediction, I tell you." (Hélias 1975 : 14)

Aptitude to drink sweat, to protect from the cold and to mask dirt – those are the three qualities of hemp, falling under the categories of practicality and appropriateness for physical work. In comparison, canvas shirts, meaning made of linen, were not blessed with the same virtues:

> "And yet we had linen canvas shirts for Sundays. One, sometimes two. But we didn't like them very much. They didn't hold onto the body, they slipped over it. They were too thin, we felt like we were naked." (Hélias 1975 : 14)

The argument given here no longer falls under strict practicality; it is of the order of feeling, and engages a culture of the body. The linen shirt was not well liked as underclothing because it was so light as to even give the impression of nudity.

Let us leave undershirts and this explicit evidence of the relationship to the body aside, to return to clothing in the strict sense of the word, at the time of Lalaisse. For the upper body, it was almost exclusively wool. More than one jacket and vest were often worn together. Lalaisse noted it himself in several cases: they were often piled one on top of the other, sometimes even up to five jackets at once (fig. 9). This accumulation had a social role, because it highlighted the wealth of those who wore these woolen clothes. For men as well as for women, jackets and corsets, vests and bodices did not float loosely but were tight to the body – a veritable heavy shell to be shouldered. Later jackets and vests evolved by decreasing the number of layers. However, in order not to give up the stacking appearance, these lighter pieces sported false lapels and false rows of buttons. This was not yet the case in 1843-1844.

Whether it be perspiration or the weight of fabric, the body obviously tolerated situations that would no longer be acceptable today, in the name of sacrosanct hygiene, as well as comfort. The (costly) alternation of different clothing for winter and summer, reported here and there, was incidentally not widespread; even if it meant having to get partially undressed for intense farm work. The same remark can be made in regards to headdresses: as will be seen later, Breton *coiffes* covered the head most of the time, from morning to evening, and enveloped all or almost all of the hair. The time came – at the beginning of the twentieth century − when women could no longer bear the hygienic consequences of this situation (Appéré 2009) : *coiffes* were worn much less extensively, progressively uncovered hair and then disappeared (Gonidec 2005), at the same time that anti-lice techniques and washing hair with shampoo gained in importance.



Figure 9.

None of these elements, concerning undershirts, jackets or headdresses, which bring temperature control and bodily hygiene into play, enable the identification of what can be described as the "drawbacks" (endured for better or worse) of clothing practices. They emphasize on the contrary a culture of the body. As has been known since the work of Georges Vigarello (Vigarello 1985), washing with water is relatively recent and was feared until the end of the eighteenth century, or often well into the nineteenth century (particularly for the head): this is the case in Brittany. The costumes that Lalaisse drew are only imaginable in the general framework of a relationship to the body different to todays, which has evolved, which is thus an object of history. It is possible that this relationship to the body evolved at a rhythm different to that of other provinces: the same is true for feelings of modesty which revealed behaviour specific to Bretons, and especially Breton women.

A previous study of headdresses (Lethuillier 2009b) noticed that women entirely hid their hair most of the time, particularly in lower Brittany. In upper Brittany, only a few strands of hair appeared either on the forehead, framing the face, or on the neck. Except for the rare exception, this never went very far. In particular, ears are almost never visible in Lalaisse's drawings. Once again this contrasts with other regions,

especially neighbouring Normandy, where locks of hair and ears, so also earrings, regularly appeared. This is original Breton behaviour, that could be simply explained by a sense of modesty, but could also incorporate an additional element − although not contradictory: poverty compelled the most impoverished to sell their hair. An act often associated with prostitution, shameful in any case, which could be hidden by *coiffes* enveloping the head and containing only horsehair.

Regarding the whole of the feminine costume, modesty prevailed, thanks to the heavy woolen clothing described above. Except for the waist which was more or less marked, the forms of the female body were masked as well. Looking at the structure of the clothing, it seems as if the waist was either often placed very high, or was not at all drawn by the costume. It could also have been hidden by an apron's very wide front, or artificially revealed by a belt placed higher than the junction between the top and the skirt, or hidden under a larger garment, worn open. In other cases, however, the waist was narrowed by bodice lacings or simply by the lines of the bodice. Even more often, a belt increased this feeling of slenderness.

This tightening was often relative, emphasized by the artificial widening of the upper and lower parts of the outfit. Compared to clothing for the upper body from many other regions that of Breton women hid the throat from the neck: no low necklines, no cleavage, from one end of the province to the other. On the contrary, certain structures strive to make one forget that fact, such as the sometimes spectacular collars, like in Châteaulin15 (fig. 10). It is also remarkable that bodices, made necessary by the stacking of jackets which still had to allow for joint movement, emphasized the shoulder. As for the chest itself, not only did the use of wool prevent its outline but the stacking of items of clothing tended to squash it. The skirt was also made to spread out just below the waist. The process was simple because it consisted in gathering the top of the skirt, even if that meant fixing the gathers on an improvised piece, wool in the case described by Lalaisse. Another way was to place padding on the small of the back, which added volume. On the whole, with the help of the stiffness of the fabric and the stacking of layers, skirts were voluminous. This was not an original way of doing things; it was found elsewhere (in Auvergne for example). It is important simply to highlight the contrast with other regions – and for example, with Normandy once again − where cotton dresses led to very different feminine silhouettes.

[15] Châteaulin, *département* of Finistère, *canton* of Châteaulin. “Environs de Châteaulin,” paper 71.



Figure 10.

It is useful to remember the control of Catholic authorities over the set of bodily attitudes − notably dancing − and over clothing in general. This went so far as where, in Brittany, jackets or vests sometimes bore embroidery representing the drawing of a monstrance, the letters "IHS"16, or religious invocations, even when the person wearing the clothing was illiterate. Let us remember as well that members of the clergy in the eighteenth century, at the time of the dispute over painted cloth in the whole of France, took sides against cotton, with its indecency for a motive.

Temperature control, weight of clothing on the skin, modesty backed up by Catholic traditions – all of this suited an original clothing system, itself rooted in local economy and culture.

*

Breton clothing practices, even when they affirmed identities and/or responded to fashion phenomena, can not be separated from a complex

[16] On the bonnets of Kerfeunteun, *département* of Finistère, town attached today to Quimper. “Finistère, homme de Pont-L’Abbé, Kerfeunteun,” paper 61.

network of links. Adequacy to a traditional economy which itself produced a veritable culture, adequacy to the management of the body, from the point of view of bodily sensations and hygiene, as it was received, and finally to modesty. Clothing was the link between these domains which can often be too tempting to classify as independent from one another. Because clothing created this link, because it structured knowledge and perceptions, "textile culture" can be discussed in a certain way. This approach leads to an understanding of the evolution of clothing practices that permanently affected numerous different parameters, prohibiting the construction of the history of regional costumes motivated only by the expression of identity.

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CHAPTER II:

DRESSES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW IDENTITIES

CONSTRUCTING A NEW IDENTITY: ROMANIAN ARISTOCRATS BETWEEN ORIENTAL HERITAGE AND WESTERN PRESTIGE (1780-1866)[1]

CONSTANȚA VINTILĂ-GHIȚULESCU

The beginning of the modern era in Romanian history is conventionally dated to 1774, when the Habsburg and Ottoman empires signed the treaty of Kutchuk Kainargi. Modernisation was a long-drawn-out process which had to overcome Romanian society's resistance to change in collective memory, overfund of its ancient customs and traditional institutions. This contribution shall examine, from an anthropological and sociological point of view, the most visible transformations implied by modernisation in Romanian society and culture, at the most easily recognisable level, that of the body and its multiple appearances. The body undergoes numerous transformations by adopting or rejecting clothes, behavioural constraints, rules of hygiene, and even bodily changes. Research here has drawn on a large array of sources, among which paintings, woodcuts and engravings are the most useful. Highly accessible, much viewed and reproduced, they offer a colourful graphic representation of material also available in written form in family documents, court archives or the contemporary press. Written sources are, in turn, “tangible material data”, enabling historians to investigate what Nicole Pellegrin, in her studies on written sources and the history of clothes, calls “the inventions and re-inventions of our identities” (Pellegrin 2007: 16-22).

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From the high cap to the top hat: clothes and social identities

Alecu Russo wrote in his memoirs:

> "in earlier times, clothes were a man's travel papers, letting you know from some distance off how deeply you should bow to him, or whether to give way to the left or to the right. You knew whom you had met by the way his beard was trimmed, or by the shape of his hat: the bigger the hat, the more important the person. The wider and taller the *shlik* (turk. başlik), the bigger (or more powerful) the head underneath it. Back in those days, a man would not be ashamed to be unable to read, but was very keen on having a *shlik*, even as tall as the obelisk in the public garden" (Russo 1980: 82-83).

Clothes were therefore a social, political and economic indicator, revealing society's material and symbolic values. Other outward elements marked the rank of an individual in the traditional society of orders and privileges, such as a beard, the means of transport used (on foot, in a carriage or on horseback), the number of servants, or the number of dishes and of plates (i.e. number of guests) one could afford. Elites had created a social imprint for themselves.

During the transition to modernity, the body underwent a series of convulsions, drastic changes and constraints, only to emerge with an entirely different appearance. The Ancient Regime body, vested with meanings, evolved into a body that could be lost in the crowd, that could deceive, and conceal social origins. While once the symbolic signifiers attached to the body could be read at a glance, today's scholars must rediscover those meanings in order to understand the historical culture and the symbolic charge of each garment.

Romanian boyars between Constantinople and Paris

With the beginning of the Phanariot era in Moldavia (1711) and Wallachia (1716), "Oriental costume" gradually became the fashionable norm. The stronger political influence of the Ottoman Porte put its visible mark on all aspects of Romanian culture and daily life: from clothes to vocabulary, from table manners to specific habits (drinking coffee, taking the afternoon rest, smoking the water-pipe) and new "mores"[2].

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[2] Many oriental elements of costume were taken over in the Romanian style beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century. "Greeks" from the

Fashion came from Constantinople and was initially adopted by the elite, whom other members of the social hierarchy were quick to imitate. Male or female clothing was not affected greatly in its shape but adopted the fashionable colours, fabrics and accessories. An entire "industry" appeared, from the trading networks connecting Bucharest and Jassy to Bursa, Constantinople, Adrianople, Braşov, Sibiu, Kiev or Moscow to the distribution networks and specialised artisans (tailors, cobblers, shoemakers, furriers, silversmiths). The new fashion context required an entirely new vocabulary as well (Şăineanu 1900).

At this point, the political elite attached meaning to their Oriental costume: it represented submission to the suzerain power, the Ottoman Empire. Rulers on the Moldavian and Wallachian thrones came directly from Constantinople, were named by the sultan and formed part of the Ottoman administrative system. As long as their ruler wore the Oriental costume, so did the high-ranking officials, with the necessary adjustments for rank and position. A great *boyar*, an official in central administration and government would only appear before the prince or any Ottoman official in his Oriental attire (Figure 1).

Foreign travellers in the Principalities, princely secretaries, consuls, merchants, and missionaries, noted differences in their quest for the exotic and picturesque. Some wrote briefly about the abundance of furs and the sizes of hats, while others described each garment in great detail, and tried to offer an interpretation of local values. Many more plunged into extravagant comparison and comments, knowing that their work was aimed at an audience eager for the odd and the extraordinary. However, their writings are still extremely useful in analysing and understanding these identity-heavy habits of clothing.

The first observer is Anton Maria Del Chiaro, Italian secretary to the Wallachian Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714):

> at Easter, a foreigner is given cloth and satin to dress himself according to the custom of the country, to be protected from the hostile glance of the Turks, who come to the country every day and do not look kindly upon foreign attire and customs (Iorga 1929: 2).

Del Chiaro not only records the state of things but voices his own opinion about the Oriental costume becoming prevalent in Romanian society. "The hostile glance of the Turks" can only be averted with submission and

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entourage of Romanian princes were the main intermediaries of this influence. See also Alexianu 1987, Ionescu 2007, Jianu 2007: 201-229, Vintilă-Ghițulescu 2009a: 109-127, 2009b: 487-500.

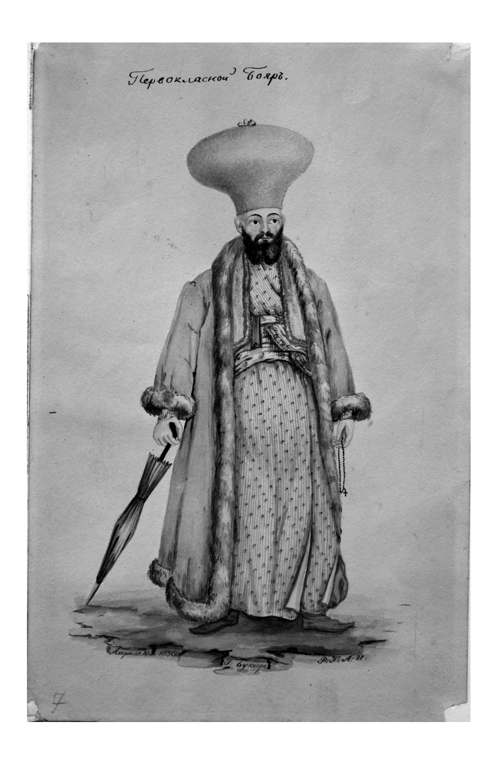


Figure 1.

imitation, by offering a familiar view of uniformity. Who would want to upset them for such a trifle? What if one did not comply? Contemporaries considered it madness, meaning not eccentricity but sheer thoughtlessness. When Staico Bucşanu planned a coup against Brâncoveanu, hoping to take the throne, his schemes came to naught partly because of his choice of clothes for meeting the vezir. It was the style of the Ottoman Empire's enemies: *the German (or shall I say crazy) attire wore by Preda of Prooroci, as he had German hair tied up under the* ishlik *and his German boots with long spurs*. The anonymous chronicler concluded, voicing a common opinion of the age, that “there was no better proof that he sided with the Germans”. The vezir took note of these boots, “long and with spurs”, and immediately spotted insubordination: “he comes again from the Germans” (Cronica Anonimă 1959: 42-43). The vizier acted accordingly: he sent the traitors back “in cuffs and irons” to Brâncoveanu.

Atlas and cloth were made into Oriental garments which subtly reflect the country's culture but also the individual rank, wealth and imagination.

The richer the adornments, the wealthier and more powerful the person wearing the clothes. Wealth thus put on display also attracted respect.

Foreign travellers often wrote that Romanian boyars wore “Greek or Turkish clothes”, readily associated with Oriental culture. The same style was in use in other regions belonging to the Ottoman Empire; such clothes were worn by Bulgarians and Greek Cypriots alike. In the Romanian Principalities however, Oriental clothes bore strong political and social meanings, owing to the particular form of Ottoman domination. Local elites adopted and adapted the Oriental costume in the process of differentiation and social appearances.

Constantinople was the model for fashions, manners and behaviour. Prince de Ligne wrote that:

> „Constantinople donne le ton à Jassy, comme Paris à la province, et les modes y arrivent encore plus tôt; le jaune y était la couleur favorite des Sultanes; elle l’est devenue à Jassy pour les femmes; les grandes pipes bien longues de bois de cerisier avaient remplacé à Constantinople les pipes de bois de jasmin; nous n’en avons plus d’autres, nous autres Boyards” (Hurmuzaki 1889 : 77-78).

Langeron added that:

> „Ils ont presque tous aussi été à Constantinople dont le voyage est regardé à Jassy comme indispensable pour former un petit maître moldave et achever son éducation, ainsi qu’en France le voyage de Paris est nécessaire à un homme de Province” (Ibidem : 75)[3].

This was therefore the centre of inspiration, imitation and diffusion of a life style. The “East”, to which the Romanian rulers and aristocracy had direct access, was one step in acquiring an education.

An Oriental costume was bound to be conspicuous when a Romanian boyar travelled to parts of Europe ruled by French fashion. When the great treasurer Ienăchiță Văcărescu arrived in Vienna in January 1782 and attended a soirée, he was pawed over by the ladies at the court. He wrote that: *at this assemblé the ladies even unfolded my girdle to see the shawl* (Piru 1969: IX).

Members of the social and political elites needed to spend to keep their status. They invested in “prestige costumes” because Romanian society prized appearances. Spending for clothes was part of the “struggle for social status and prestige” (Elias 1974: 49). Around 1778, the Moldavian

[3] The Conte de Langeron was a general in the Russian army and spent time in Moldavia and Wallachia between 1789 and 1828.

metropolitan Gavriil held that boyars became accustomed to wearing rich dresses, but that this was a duty and an obligation to their social class: "*each one of them strove to dress richly and with precious clothes, for the love of honour and out of duty*" (Furnică 1908: 50)[4].

Existing sumptuary laws could not stop local aristocrats from spending and even getting into debt to afford clothes to mark their rank, status and prestige among their peers and to distinguish themselves from other social classes. In the absence of a strong bourgeoisie, rich merchants and artisans also mimicked the nobility and invested their capital in offices and the aristocratic life style[5] (Figure 2).

Naturally, not all boyars could afford to follow fashions strictly, to change their clothes and appearance frequently. They knew that their status implied more than money and an economic network, that it was also a question of power and authority within the group, and of swift diplomacy. A rich display of wealth, pomp and luxury was, in theory, open to anyone with means, but an outsider adopting clothes to which he was not entitled was penalised immediately. In a society of strict rules, any slight upon status or honour was met with sarcasm, gossip, fines and even confiscations. The aristocrats showed their wealth with precaution, diplomacy and tact. Opulence could attract the Prince's envy and the enmity of others.

To use Norbert Elias' terms, prestige spending was part of a "logic" (Elias 1974: 62) which also had to highlight the differences, either between a great and a lesser boyar, or between an old family and parvenus. It was a struggle to stand out, "a desire for differentiation" unrelated to the economic means (Roche 1989: 178) It was a competition among peers. Metropolitan Gavriil and Prince Moruzi recommended and required that the wealthy spend on clothes, but they also advised boyars not to borrow for the sake of appearance:

"*and when they are in need and do not have [money], they are not obliged to borrow for clothes to match others in their rank, nor, when they spend less, feel sad and doleful that they are no match for those of their kind*" (Furnică 1908: 51). The princes themselves sometimes put aside their expensive garments of *şamalagea (*from turk. şam alağasi) and *serasir (*from turk. ser a ser, oriental textiles weaved with gold yarns, very expensive) to wear coarse cloth and *aba*, but could not set a convincing example to the boyars who wanted to show elegance and wealth.

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[4] On the sumptuary effects of Ottoman costume see Jirousek 2005: 1-20.

[5] For the evolution of this social group see Platon 1997; Lazăr 2007.



Figure 2.

The Russian and Austrian armies introduced French culture, modernisation, and new clothes and manners. The wars between the Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg empires brought occupation troops to the capitals and towns in Wallachia and Moldavia, breaking the ground for the new. Even Ottoman culture fell under Western European influence (Faroqhi 2005: 227-230). The Russian occupation of 1806-1812 was decisive: after six years, Bucharest and Jassy were different places, with aristocrats and rich townspeople wearing new attire. The general Count Langeron considered the change "a revolution", stating in 1807 that "all women in Moldavia and Wallachia have embraced the European costume" (Hurmuzaki 1889: 79, note 1). Vienna and Paris extended their influence eastwards, with fashion retailers and seamstresses, tailors and cooks, domestic servants and teachers, clothes, accessories, furniture and carriages setting up a parallel occupation in the local mansions, shops and homes. In 1813, Count de Lagarde, infatuated with the widow Catinca Slătineanu, wrote that Romanian women competed in elegance and taste with the elegant ladies of Paris and Vienna, but their husbands did not follow suit, and held onto their *kalpaks*. This hat, described by de Lagarde as a "sort of a pear-shaped bubble, covered in black or grey lambskin, three feet wide and just as tall" (Lagarde 1824: 324), is strikingly odd for

the foreign eye but it was only a social status signifier. The shape and size of the *kalpak* indicated the administrative rank of its wearer. (It seems that boyars had two sets of hats: one for wearing in public and one for pleasure, worn mostly among friends, the latter being much larger and more adorned.)

Both observers noticed that women were at the forefront of change, the first to relinquish their oriental costume. Several explanations suggest themselves:

- women were politically neutral and did not hold offices
- women acquired other forms of the new civility as well: the dances, music, soirées, balls, reading, a new ethos of love, a new style of education in a sort of emancipation.

The Prussian consul to Moldavia from 1828 to 1843, C. A. Kuch, considered women superior to their husbands in adopting fashions, the French language and soirées. While ladies followed the Parisian styles, their husbands were not at ease in their new clothes:

> „les boyards sont encore très attachés à leurs habitudes asiatiques, c'est pourquoi ils sont frustes dans leurs vêtements allemands et gémissent sur le fardeau de cette mode imposé par les épouses" (Kuch 1891 : 778).

After aristocratic women, rich townspeople adopted the European fashion quickly, mainly because they did not attach a social identity to their previous styles of clothing. Among them, however, women were also leading the way.

Clothes were so heavily charged socially, that even younger men had difficulties in changing their Oriental appearance, which offered visible status. Some decided to have two sets of clothes, each with a clearly defined purpose. Around 1820, young aristocrats went to the ball in their *giubea* (long cloak), high cap and *meși* (turk. meştia, yellow footwear) or *ceacşiri* (turk çakşir, baggy breeches), thus being seen in public with the trappings of their rank, maintaining their prestige and commanding respect from lesser nobility (Figure 3). Before entering the ball room though they changed their clothes to fit in, to be able to dance the quadrille, waltz, mazurka or contra-dance, and to avoid sweating and catching a cold (Samarian 1937: 117). Others adapted European dress selectively, accepting garments that allowed freedom of movement but kept the appearance of Oriental costume. In this situation, men preferred a low cap instead of the *ishlik*, black boots instead of yellow slippers, and narrow trousers replacing the wide Turkish ones. All these clothes came into fashion under the Russian occupation of 1828-1834. The change happened gradually,



Figure 3.

under peer pressure or for political reasons, but also owing to the constant exposure to alterity. The generation born after 1800 was half-way between tradition and modernity, torn between the values of two different cultures. In the 1830s they tried, as far as possible, to combine them: to keep the privileges and appearances of their noble background and at the same time, not to be seen as backward. A character from that era described this situation as follows:

> “Obedeanu, a friend of mine, who ended up wearing boots and a low cap, at the suggestion of his friends and wanting to be entirely modern, ordered a tail coat; I ordered him a top hat in Sibiu (Hermannstadt), from the famous Bayer. When he tried to new hat on, he felt so strange in this modern costume in front of the mirror, that he threw the top hat to the ground and could not bring himself to wear it, so he gave it to a less conservative friend” (Veress: 1930: 379-380).



Figure 4.

The painter Miklós Barabás captured this world caught between two cultures and two codes of prestige in a portrait of the great *aga* (the chief of the police) Nicolae Filipescu. Tradition and modernity meet on *aga* Filipescu's body, in his gesture, glance and attitude. Wearing a caftan and Russian boots, low cap and oriental shawl, *aga* Nicolae Filipescu, the son of the great boyar, Alexandru-Filipescu Vulpe (Fox - his surname), is neither part of the “old century” nor of the “new” one entirely. He was not alone in this situation. The transition from one costume to the other, accompanied by a change of manners and attitudes, is related to customs, a way of life and an identity, but conceals a heavy dose of opportunism which suited the Romanian aristocracy perfectly, always wanting to assert themselves (Figure 4).

Turning coat to suit the times: sartorial chameleonism

Adopting French fashion and "civilization"[6] was a gradual process which did not include everyone. The first major obstacle was Ottoman domination over the two Romanian principalities. To wear Oriental costume meant to accept and acknowledge the political regime in place, therefore abandoning it meant, in the eyes of the authorities, revolt, a sign of disobedience and siding with the enemies of the Empire. Thus Romanians adopted or discarded fashions in clothing according to political events in their region. Between 1806-1812, with the Russian occupation, noble ladies, along with some boyars, merchants and townspeople, adopted Western European clothes. In 1813, after the departure of the Russians and the arrival of Ottoman troops, young aristocrats quickly reverted to the Oriental style (Călători străini 2004/I: 748). The same happened in 1821, after Tudor Vladimirescu's uprising, when Oriental clothes replaced the "French fashion" once the Ottoman army entered Wallachia to restore the peace. Precise moments in habits of dress depend on Russian or Ottoman military intervention. Moreover, in 1828, the boyars used their garments to declare their allegiance to one or the other of the warring empires. Even in 1822, after Ottoman forces had left the country, Wallachians reverted to European clothes, as proven by the princely mandate from 23rd July. Prince Grigore Ghica, prompted by the Porte, demanded that "French clothes" be abandoned:

> "Le 27, on publia une ordonnance du voïvode, par laquelle il est ordonné à tous les individus rayas, habillés à la franque, de quitter les vêtements européens et d'endosser, dans l'espace de trois jours le costume valaque ou oriental" (Hurmuzaki 1889 : 238, the report of Kreuchely to von Militz, 27.07.1823).

Not everyone had switched to the European fashion, since on 4th July 1829 the Russian governor Jeltuchin urged boyars to dress in European clothes and to shave their beards. Some followed his suggestion. This was the times of changes, of renewed attitudes and garments. Backlashes still happened, as on 13th March 1834, when the Moldavian boyars received Ahmed Pasha, the Ottoman envoy, dressed in Oriental clothes and with

[6] I am using the expression „French civilisation" in its generous meaning, to include clothes and garments of Western origin. The influences were mainly French, English and German but one should bear in mind that at the time the French culture, civilisation and language were predominant in Europe. Romanians particularly were closer to the French than to the other cultures. See also Eliade 2000.

turbans on their heads, having removed all their Russian decorations. They only succeeded in outraging the Turk, who was en route from St Petersburg and was wearing the Order of St Anne around his neck, and the Russians alike, who were still stationed in the Romanian Principalities (Hurmuzaki 1889: 535, Wallenburg's report to Metternich, 14.03.1834)7. In July of that year, the same boyars welcomed Prince Mihail Sturdza, a known reformist and modernist, in a completely different manner: clean-shaven, with three-cornered hats instead of the *kalpaks,* and with tailored uniforms replacing their large, loose Ottoman garments (Kuch 1891: 140).

The writer Costache Negruzii captured this chameleonism excellently in his character Andronache Zimbolici:

> "so far he had changed his clothes five times. First he shaved off his beard in 1812 and put on European clothes. Then, in the time of Prince Calimah, he wore the long costume. In 1821, going into exile, he put on his tail coat again, shaved off his moustache, too. Upon returning, he dressed in the ishlik again. Then, in 1828, he put on the tail coat once more, grew long side-whiskers and a goatee, and even wore spectacles. He said he will not change again, but can we believe him?" (Negruzzi 1982: 55-56)

Occasionally, clothes become playing-pieces in political games. Several years later, Prince Mihail Sturdza's political opponents wore lamb-skin hats atop their European dress, to declare symbolically the Dacian origin of the Romanians. Fashion was an emblem of their discontent. The prince's reply was quick:

> „il fit à cette fin confectionner en secret une quarantaine de bonnets semblables, on les donna pour coiffure aux condamnés aux travaux forcés et on leur fait ainsi balayer deux fois par jour les rues de la ville".

The party of the "patriots" gave up their hats in haste "de peur d'être confondus avec les criminels" (Soutzo 1899: 118)[8], and also because the princely ridicule had minimized their gesture.

A second obstacle to rapid change was the boyars themselves. Aristocrats of a certain age considered that preserving Oriental costume was a sign of their rank. Rich and expensive clothes were the social markers of prestige and high office. The exclusive privilege of wearing ermine and

7 See also the letter of 10th March 1834 where Wallenburg described to Metternich the grand receptions hosted by Moldavian boyars to honour the Turkish dignitary (Hurmuzaki 1889: 533-535).

8 See also the memoirs of Alecu Russo where he mentions the „lambskin cap" worn by one of his friends who was not looked upon kindly by the Prince, 27 februarie 1846 (Russo 1980 : 62).



Figure 5.

certain cloths, the prescribed size and shape of the high caps, and their abundant jewellery marked them off from the rest of the populace. Petty nobles, merchants, artisans and townspeople were all dressed "à la mode", in clothes tailored "à la française" or „à l'allemande" which blurred social differences (Figure 5). Some of these aristocrats were open to modernisation in literature, music, learning French, institutions or legislation, but also wanted to preserve their social identity.[9] When a member of the upper classes abandoned his caftan and his high cap, the news spread all over town and was published in the journals. On 17th August 1830, "Curierul românesc" reported:

[9] A similar discussion regarding the Western influence and its appraisal also took place in other states on the path to modernisation (Exertzoglou 2007: 43- 60).


Georges Philipesco, bach-boyard de la Valachie. — D'après un dessin de M. Doussault.

Figure 6.

> "The great vornic Sir Grigore Filipescu, to give proof of our century and of his civilised and unprejudiced views, on the 15th of this month, relinquishing his previous clothes, has shaved his beard and dressed himself in the clothes of civilised Europe".

Other aristocrats, such as the ban Iordache Golescu, Alexandru Ghica called Red Beard or the ban Teodor Văcărescu-Furtună did not change at all and wore their *shalwars* and caftan as late as the 1850s (Figure 6).

For longer than four decades, Oriental and European costumes were worn within the same family. On 10th October 1836, Saint Marc de Girardin wrote in his diary:

> "… le plus étrange à Iassy et à Bucarest, c'est le mélange et la diversité des costumes. Parmi les hommes plusieurs ont conservé le costume oriental; les autres ont le costume européen; et ces deux sortes de costumes se rencontrent dans la même famille; le père est vêtu boyard, le fils est vêtu à la française […] Je n'ai vu personne au-dessous de quarante ans qui portât le costume oriental. Quant aux femmes, il y a déjà longtemps qu'elles ont toutes adopté le costume européen„ (Girardin 1852 : 280-281).

It was the 1848 generation that broke any ties with the past, or at least claimed to do so. This past however was an intrinsic part of the nascent reality, of everything still to be built, of the new social behaviours.

At the end of the transitional period, Oriental costume was merely a memory from a bygone era. The sons of the great boyars returned to their homeland with different ideas, ideals and dreams. The new ideals of “liberty, fraternity and equality” could only be applied in the French clothes of liberty, in the true spirit of the age. The 1848 revolution unfolded in Wallachia under the motto “justice and brotherhood” thanks to the European education of the young generation of aristocrats. They had been students of Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet and Alfonso de Lamartine, so it came naturally to them to wear the “clothing of freedom”, as their models and inspiration had done. The revolutionary movement was accompanied by symbolic gestures stating the break with the past. Romanian revolutionaries staged a public burning of the “Regulamentul organic” (the first Constitutions of the Romanian principalities drawn up under Russian supervision, thus representing foreign occupation) and the “Arhondologia” (the book of ranks and privileges, symbol of the Ancient Regime)[10] (Figure 7).

Oriental costume became the mark of the Phanariot regime, associated with a dark age in Romanian history condemned by the 1848 Revolution. All the old-fashioned habiliments and accessories, such as long caftans and cloaks with rich fur collars, diamond buttons, high caps, cashmere shawls, *imineii* (shoes), the red and yellow hosiery, gold rings with precious stones and diamonds on all fingers, or amber prayer beads, appeared less and less in daily life and finally vanished with the disappearance of the old aristocrats and their wives, clinging to an idealised past.

Memoirists and fashionable journalists constructed a nostalgia of the revolution. The shops in Jassy, Bucharest, and other towns stocked and sold yellow-hide gloves, ties, patent leather shoes, narrow trousers, tailcoats, top hats, frock coats, rococo walking sticks, crinolines, umbrellas and parasols, and large hats adorned with ribbons, flowers and feathers. The simultaneous abundance and uniformity of these garments reveal little about their wearers.

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[10] The Organic Regulations of Moldavia and Wallachia were written during the Russian occupation of the countries between 1828-1834. The „Arhondologii” were inventories (lists of names) of the noble elite from the highest to the lowest ranks; the last one was compiled in 1837 (Ungureanu 1997; Cernovodeanu, Gavrilă, 2002).

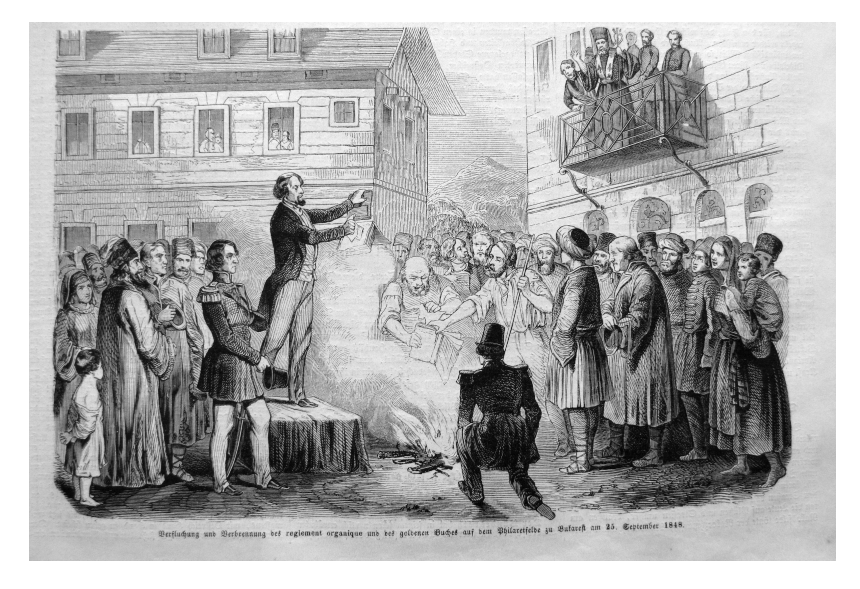


Figure 7.

Foreign travellers had an eye for the sartorial details, just as memoirists in the early stages of Romanian modernity captured the psychological meanings of this change in dress and clothing. Alecu Russo, Costache Negruzii, Radu Rosetti, Nicolae Kretzulescu, Ion Ghica, Gheorghe Sion ascribe different behaviours, gestures and mores to those wearing shalwars, high caps, or specific undergarments or to those sporting top hats, waistcoats, trousers and coats.

The appeal of the uniform and the military

Under the Phanariot regime, the Romanian Principalities were completely integrated into the Ottoman political and military system. Under the circumstances, Prince Constantin Mavrocordat abolished the army in 1739. Armies under central control were reorganised in Wallachia and Moldavia with the first constitutions, the Organic Regulations, in 1831 and 1832 respectively. Instantly a military career became highly desirable among the high and petty nobility, as with the merchants and better-off artisans. Each social group had its own reasons: the upper classes for example switched from Oriental costume to the military uniform, charged with similar symbolic values. An army uniform fed their need for prestige, and individuality, and served to show rank better than the former modes of

dress. In the early stages, local uniforms imitated Russian uniforms and ranks. Under the Organic Regulations, the organisation of the army reflected the hierarchy of nobles: sons of high ranking dignitaries became sub-lieutenant (*praporgic*), while the sons of nobles of lower administrative ranks were cadets (*iuncăr).* Aristocrats from the grand families were named colonels (*polcovnici*) (Regulamentul Organic 147: 397, 407-409, 457, 462-463, 477).

The craze for uniforms began with the princes themselves: Alexandru Ghica, Mihail Sturdza, Gheorghe Bibescu, Alexandru Cuza and Carol I all chose to dress in military uniforms for special occasions and for portraits. Prince Ghica took great pride in wearing a uniform, stating that his right to rule stemmed from his right to wear the Order of St. Anne and from "*le droit d'avoir un uniforme brodé avec magnificence, de marcher suivi de soldats et d'un état-major plus nombreux que celui d'un empereur*" (Colson 1839: 52-56). Prince Mihail Sturdza destined both his sons for a military career, and before he sent them to Western Europe in 1834 to study, enrolled them in the local armed forces: Grigore with the cavalry and Dimitrie with the infantry. Upon their return, the young men were promoted: Dimitrie was the head of the Moldavian army, while Grigore became a colonel. A contemporary sarcastically noted that they had advanced quickly through the ranks without any preparation, without a day of training and with no knowledge of army regulations, but that this was understandable considering that the army was weak:

> "The sons of Mihail Sturdza had returned from abroad, where they had been studying. Because both had military ranks, received without ever setting foot in the barracks or commanding a troop, Dimitrie was made head of the army as a hetman, that is minister of war. At that time, the Moldavian army had one cannon, two hundred lancers, around six hundred infantry soldiers and a gunboat without guns, stationed in Galați. Plenty for the hetman to command!" (Sion 1956: 209, 419-420)11.

The boyars followed their example, and "the sword and epaulettes have seduced all the young men", there was a run on the army, so that shortly there were as many officers as soldiers (Hurmuzaki 1889: 656, the report of Duclos to Molé, 09.12.1836). Prince Mihail Sturdza boosted the number of officers by giving ranks away generously, convinced that

[11] His opinion was supported by another contemporary evidence: „en Moldavie l'esprit de la milice est nul, parce qu'elle est faible et peu nombreuse". Once the early enthusiasm had died down, prince Mihail Sturza lost his interest in the army: "le prince la néglige; depuis cinq ans qu'il règne, il n'a pas fait une seule revue. Nul encouragement, nulle distinction accordée au mérite" (Colson 1839: 20)

Moldavia could not defend itself without external help. Any youngster with "a taste for the officer's uniform" became one in a matter of weeks. Moldavia had 200 officers at the time (Rosetti 1996: 165). This situation resembles the rush for titles and offices under the Phanariots, when everyone wanted to have a title, no matter how small. In Wallachia, the military career was similarly attractive, to the extent that in only six months the privilege of the boyars, codified in law, could no longer be met: "in six months the army was entirely formed and complete; because in 1831 Prince Scarlat Ghica, the son of Grigore Vodă Ghica was made a cadet without any further consideration" (Rosetti 1996: 91). In other words, there were no places left for the privileged. During these early stages, there was a lot of confusion within the Romanian army. Boyars were undecided between a military career or administrative office. For a while, they attended drill in slippers and caftans, or with the sword girded on over their shawls. Sometimes they mixed garments from both costumes. At the first parade, commander Alexandru Ghica did not have a uniform but received the salute in his "boyar's outfit" (Papazoglu 2005: 91). The former thief-taker turned lieutenant, Ioan Solomon, was seen by his contemporaries as: "dressed like an Arnăut (a mercenary), with shalwars, waistcoat, with a headband tied in the Turkish way and with pistols in his girdle" (Crutzescu 1935: 50). At least he had fighting experience. The army was also a career option for the sons of petty nobles, merchants and artisans, as a secure and more easily accessible way to climb the social ladder. From this lesser social background some rose to fame.

Young people were also drawn to the army following the immediate example of the Austrian, Russian, French, Swedish, German and Dutch officers, fascinated by their lifestyle, their success with women and in society. The uniform was a good way to conquer ladies, most of whom were tempted by the tight military clothes, the epaulettes, decorations, sword and pistol, and the peaked cap. A military uniform also brought with it respect and many other advantages. Grigore Lăcusteanu recalled how doors opened for young officers: "we officers were all well fed and treated by all the boyars from Craiova. They competed in organising lunches and soirées at their houses" (Crutzescu 1935: 51). Military clothes and a career in the army became a means of recognition in a society which had to abandon its old values and translate them into another reference frame. Moreover, the army eased the transition from the "Oriental

costume" to the "European costume" and, intrinsically, from one lifestyle to another[12].

Until the rule of Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859-1864), the young Romanian army was far from being a modern army. Modern military armed services were built on stable units of volunteer soldiers, commanded by professional officers, governed by discipline, provided with uniform, weapons and standardized regulations, under the state's control. A lack of financial resources and, quite often, the lack of interest among the political class slowed the modernisation of the army. Prince Mihail Vodă Sturdza, for instance, did not believe in the Moldavian army's strength or potential and was not interested in establishing or supplying it properly. The Organic Regulations already mentioned the need for a standard army uniform but the path from the tailors' workshop to the soldiers' and officers' backs was long and winding. It also had to pass by finance ministers, who approved the funding, and the boyars in the National Assembly (Adunarea Obştească) who passed the laws.

From beard to long hair: social distinction and the display of a different lifestyle

The beard is a signifier for a certain social status. In the Romanian Principalities, a beard, together with the long black cassock, was part of the standard appearance of priests, monks, bishops and metropolitans. The beards worn by boyars, discussed here, can also be related to this traditional, patriarchal way of representing power. In the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century the beard was a crucial element in staging prestige. The particularities of the Ottoman domination allowed for the evolution of a strong and autonomous local aristocracy, which created its own symbolic instruments for social differentiation within the group but also in relation to the masses. Aristocrats established trappings permitted only to the elites, including the beard.

Having a beard meant being a boyar, especially a first rank boyar (Figure 8). Furthermore, since the reforms of Constantin Mavrocordat, being a boyar was equivalent to the state office, so that the longest and most beautiful beards belonged to the high-ranking officials. Nicolae Kretzulescu recalled that "as with the status of boyar, raising in rank and growing a beard happened on 1st January" (Kretzulescu 1894: 29). Beards and high sable caps were the exclusive privilege of the highest officials, such as the great *ban* and the great *aga*. These were signs of their high status,

[12] The statement of the peinter Miklos Barabás (Veress 1930: 379-381).



Figure 8.

closed to boyars of lower ranks. When Grigore Vodă Ghica allowed his *clucer* (court victualler) Dumitrache Ştefănescu, an old nobleman from his entourage but not a high-ranking one, to grow a beard, everyone considered it “a great favour” (Kretzulescu 1894: 13).

Growing a beard was an unmistakable indicator of a person's ambition to enter to rank of the boyars. The contemporary phrase was “one's escape to a beard”, which the great boyar Iordache Golescu explains; “it is said when simple people want to become great by growing a beard, because since old times a person who became a grand boyar grew a beard to show his honour” (Golescu 1990: 231). The length and thickness of a beard matched its bearer's rank (Figure 9). Everyone took notice of these great boyar beards, which changed colour with age. Beards were all grand and yet different: some are more beautiful and eye-catching. Such was for instance the impressive beard of Constantin Cantacuzino, of which the painter Miklós Barabás wrote in 1831: “*the beautiful black beard* of Cantacuzino also fell victim to the European fashion” (Veress 1930: 38). Before shaving it off, the young boyar commissioned his portrait in Oriental costume and with his black beard framing his face, confirming Barabás's words. While Constantin Cantacuzino's beard is still “young”, black and shiny, older beards also convey the greatness of their masters

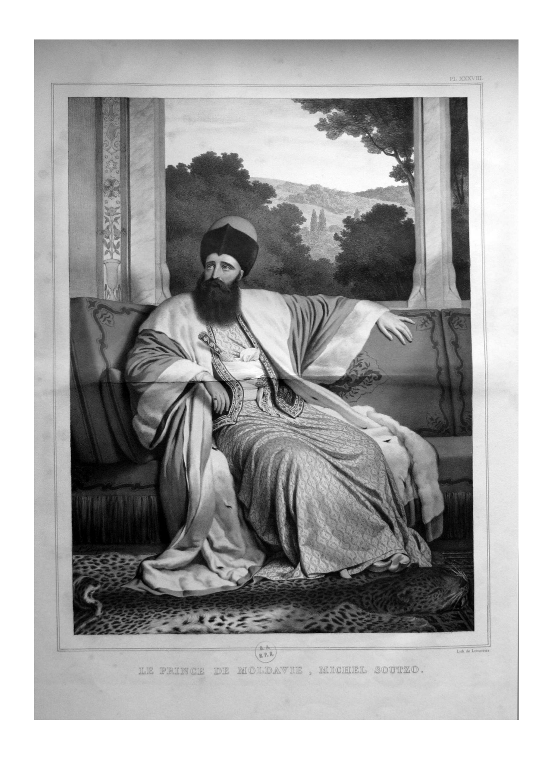


Figure 9.

and of their Oriental costume. Niccolo Livaditti's portrait of the great logophete Alecu Ghica captures the essence of a great boyar's prestige: past his youth, Ghica wears a well trimmed and groomed grey beard, rich, neither too long or too short. His black eyes also seem to tell the viewer of his rank and importance. A similar example is the beard of the great ban Grigore Brâncoveanu, the difference is in the boyar's age, for the ban has the white beard and gentle eyes of a man advanced in years. For the portraits of the Văcărescu boyars, the painter Anton Chladek was not so subtle. He conveys the visual memory of their importance as grand aristocracy and major political and cultural figures of their time, having the beard as a required accessory but nothing else. It is clear that the prestige of Ienăchiță Văcărescu and Alecu Văcărescu does not lie in their rather thin, unimpressive beards. Each beard tells a different story, such as that of a great aristocrat from Moldavia. The beard of Teodor Balş (+1840) speaks of a man who had always held a high office and was close to the rulers. Contemporaries saw him as “a very tall and handsome man, with a majestic appearance, made even more so *by a long beard reaching down*

to his waist". Balş was very proud of his beard. He was involved in all major political events of the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1821, and again during the Russian occupation of 1828-1834, he tried to take the Moldavian throne. Having an admirable self-control of his body and his gestures, Balş succeeded in creating an image of himself that inspired respect, fear, awe, elegance and magnificence. He knew how to enhance his God-given gifts and transform them into a "majestic appearance": "he walked tall, with a gentle prowling gait". His beard was his "passport" for visibility (Rosetti 1996: 96-104).

Embracing the European fashion was incompatible with the long beards and, forced to choose between a long beard and a freshly shaven face with moustaches, boyars gradually cut off their beards. I have mentioned boyar Cantacuzino who "had to shave his beard" because "it did not match his French suit" (Veress 1930: 24). The years of Russian occupation altered the significance of long beards drastically, as one grand boyar had to admit: "the great prestige of the beard and sable high cap were lost nearly entirely under the provisional government of Kiseleff" (Kretzulescu 1894: 13). The Russians introduced the "fashion of the uniform", the slim body, in tailored clothes, with no beard but only a moustache. Grand boyars who had gone to great lengths to enter high society and have the privilege to grow beards went to the other extreme and shaved off their beards to follow the latest style in military uniforms or "European dress" (Figure 10).

The transition to the new dress styles was not indiscriminately smooth for every boyar. Some nuances need to be asserted. The beard, the sable high cap and the caftan were not just the whims of a conservative and backward elite but symbols, with strong social and political values. Given their function as social and hierarchical markers, they could not disappear overnight. The transition to the new values was difficult especially for the office-holding and ancient nobility, who inherited a long tradition of representing society and themselves in clear-cut social differences. Therefore, they were not faithful to the beard but to a way of self-representation.



Figure 10.

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From Oriental (Ottoman) to European (Frankish) Dress: Dress as Key Indicator of the Lifestyle and the Role of the Elite of Cyprus during the 18th and 19th Centuries

Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou

At the dawn of the 20th century the *Patriotic Association of Cypriots in Athens* organized a great Cypriot Exhibition in the Greek capital with a view to strengthening the bonds between Cyprus and Greece, considering this as a priority of national importance. Prefacing the presentation of the traditional Cypriot costumes exhibited in Athens in April 1901, the main organizer of the Exhibition, G.S. Frangoudes, summed up in a few concise words the entire development of Cypriot dress during the second half of the 19th century. It was during this time that Cyprus adopted the European dress. According to Frangoudes, in the towns, the men of good class, the *tselepides* (Turk. *çelebi*, the well-bred, educated, gentleman), who wore in earlier times the oriental *anteria* (Turk. *entari*, loose robe) and *salvaria* (Turk. *şalvar*, long pantaloons), which differed little from those of the Turks, had replaced them long ago by the "Frankish" (Western, European) dress. At the same time ordinary people proudly wore and continued to wear the *vraka* (baggy trousers), which by the end of the 19th century had become the national dress of the Cypriot male (Frangoudes 1901: 35; Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 1999: 61-62). (Figure 1)

What we can deduce from this statement is that persons of a higher status, who had adopted the oriental dress – while ordinary people were dressed in local traditional attire – were the first who changed their appearance, in order to adopt the European dress. Also now, at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, the local costume was considered national Greek, as opposed to the "Frankish" dress.

Through the centuries Cyprus came under the dominion of many and different masters both from east and west. In Medieval times the island, which had been part of the Byzantine Empire (965-1191), had formed a



Figure 1.

kingdom under the French Lusignan dynasty (1192-1489), and remained under the rule of the Most Serene Republic of Venice for 82 years, before it was conquered by the Ottoman Turks in 1571. The three hundred years long Ottoman rule left its imprint in all aspects of material life, last but not least on dress, especially in the urban centres. It was only a small part of the population, however, who lived in the towns (as late as 1881, only 16.8%). The economy was based on agriculture and animal husbandry, and consequently, the rural population formed the striking majority.

The period of Ottoman rule is considered to have been a time of oppression, bad administration and poverty, aggravated by political upheavals and natural disasters. Despite hardships, not all people lived in poverty. Particularly in the towns the population presented a differentiated social stratification. The social hierarchy can be schematically visualized in the form of a pyramid, the broad base of which was formed by the peasantry and the poor working class of the town centres; the middle stratum was occupied by an active class of local merchants and artisans, organized into guilds. As can be concluded from the study of written

sources, especially lists of property of deceased Christian subjects, this class had developed mainly in the two important urban centres, Nicosia, the capital of the island, and Larnaca, the main port (Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 1996 A: 197-198). (Figure 2) On the top of the social pyramid, the Ottoman ruling class prevailed, the standard of which only a limited number of very rich Christians could approach. The people who formed the upper class in the local society were high-ranking members of the clergy, the Dragoman, a high official acting as a liaison between the Ottoman administrative authorities and the Christian subjects, a few notables and wealthy merchants (Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 1991: 32-33).(Figure 3) In the 18th century, a period for which there is much more evidence from published sources than for all previous centuries of Ottoman rule, there had developed a network of prosperous individuals, money-lenders, landowners, merchants, all persons who exploited different resources and profited from a variety of investments. Wealthy landowners were also found in small towns and villages. At a time of great poverty and misery, these people could afford to enjoy the value of the unnecessary, far beyond the essentials of daily existence. Their way of life reflected foreign influences in developing the highest possible standard of living.

The elite of the Cypriot society was not homogeneous. Among the outstanding merchants figure Greeks, Jews and Armenians, but also Europeans. About 62% of the trade was in the hands of foreign merchants. Venetians, French, British, Neapolitans, Ragusans and Greeks from the Ionian Islands, but also local merchants, settled mainly in Larnaca, which from the 17th century had become the seat of the consulates of the European states. As merchants and money-lenders, the consuls were involved in the economic affairs of the island, especially those of the Church, and were to some extent integrated into the local society. The exemption from taxes and other privileges, which the citizens of the European states enjoyed, due to the practice of capitulations, could also be extended to non-European subjects. Thus, rich Christian subjects who wished to safeguard their properties, paid heavily in order to become *protégés* or *beratlı*, through “lettres de protection”.



Figure 2.

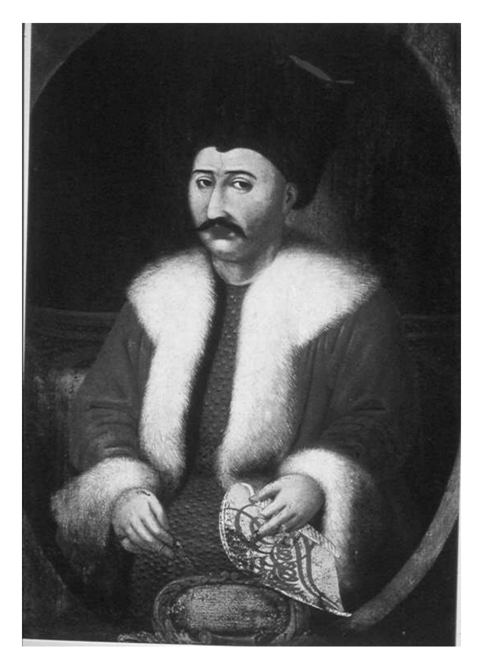


Figure 3.

The consuls made a business of these titles of privilege to such an extent that the Porte was obliged to interfere. Among other privileges, the purchaser of a *berat* could enjoy the distinction of wearing the Ottoman dress consisting of certain coloured clothes and yellow shoes, like those of the Ottomans (Meryon 1846: 374). In 1806 Ali Bey noticed that these *protégés* were "distinguished by a tall black cap of bear's skin, called *calpac*". He had also seen Greeks who were not *protégés*, wearing the *calpac* unnoticed by the Turks (Cobham 1908: 397).

The people who formed the elite of the island sought to differentiate themselves from the ordinary people by adopting a distinctive lifestyle characterized by glamour and luxury. Lifestyle is expressed in all aspects of material life, mainly in the impressive private houses of eminent proprietors, the luxurious interior arrangement, imported high quality furnishings and decoration, and also in their exquisite dietary habits. Last but not least the economic and social status is reflected in the appearance of wealthy persons, their dress, jewellery and personal items. Dress is a key indicator of the lifestyle of the elite, their culture and aesthetics.

In the 18th and 19th - century Cyprus, the appearance of the people of the upper classes mainly reflects two different co-existing cultures: the European and the Oriental.

In Larnaca, diplomats and traders from European states, but also merchants, doctors and wealthy people from the Ionian Islands, basically followed the European fashion. Donors depicted in early 18th century icons which belonged to families from the Ionian Islands established in Larnaca, give us an idea of the Western fashion in the days of flowing wigs, lace ruffles and silk stockings (Hadjichristodoulou 2008: A/A 39, figs 64-65, A/A 40, figs 66-67). Remarks, however, made by people of those times about the appearance of the elite of the town, offer a different view: Consul Drummond, in the middle of the 18th century, observed that "even the Franc, or European, ladies dress in the Grecian mode, which is wantonly superb, though, in my opinion, not so agreeable as our own. Yet the ornaments of the head are graceful and noble" (Cobham 1908: 276). About a century later, in 1801, Edward Daniel Clarke described the oriental dress of the ladies of Cyprus, and was impressed by the headdress which women of all ranks, including the wives of the consuls, used to wear; this was "modelled after the kind of *Calathus* represented upon the Phoenician idols of the country, and upon Egyptian statues" (Ibidem: 384). Some years later, another traveller who dined with several consuls and their wives, commented: "These people appear to have been Levantines, and the fair consulesses had tinged their fingers with henna *a la Turque*" (Jeffery 1983: 178).

The semi-oriental fashion described by travellers, is also reflected in the dress items listed in the inventories of belongings of rich merchants in Larnaca. These include hats and caps (bonnets), stockings and shoes, which point to a European fashion, but also others, like *tziouppe* (Turk. *cüppe*, a long robe with full sleeves), *anterin* (Turk. *entari*, loose robe), *tsaktziria* (Turk. *çakşir*, baggy breeches), *salvaria* (Turk. *şalvar*, long pantaloons) , as well as various fur coats, which were typical features of the current Ottoman dress. Despite the oriental flavour, the European atmosphere was felt here more than anywhere else on the island. According to Otto Friedrich von Richter, who visited Cyprus in 1816, “The attractions that Larnaca offers to a European returning from Asia are the various traces of Europeanism in the local dress code; here the hat has pushed the turban aside” (Richter 1822: 309). During the centuries of Ottoman rule oriental dress became fashionable, not only in Cyprus, but throughout the Empire, which from the 16th to the 19th century extended over three continents, assembling under its umbrella ethnic groups of diverse cultures, languages, religions and traditions. Oriental dress was promptly adopted by the upper classes, by privileged persons who could afford to buy high quality imported items. The same tendency was apparent when Cyprus was under Venetian rule; wealthy people imitated the appearance of the Venetian aristocracy and even after one century of Ottoman rule, at least until the middle of the 17th century, donors depicted in icons are dressed in Western style. By the 18th century, however, oriental dress had become prevalent among the well-to-do, as it is known from travellers’ descriptions and representations of this period:

In 1738 Richard Pococke noticed: “The common people here dress much in the same manner as they do in the other islands of the Levant; but those who value themselves on being somewhat above the vulgar, dress like the Turks, but wear a red cap turned up with fur, which is the proper Greek dress…” (Cobham 1908: 268).The headdress he described was the *kalpak* (see Fig. 3). Similar remarks were made by Giovanni Mariti, who lived on the island from 1760 to 1767: “The men dress *alla Turca*, like those of Constantinople, and so too the women of any position, except as to the adornment of the head, which is high and striking… Their head dress consists of a collection of various handkerchiefs of muslin, prettily shaped, so that they form a kind of casque of a palm’s height…”. Mariti described also the women’s outer garment, a long mantle called *biniş* (long cloak), and the low boots of yellow leather, under which they used to wear slippers (Mariti 1971: 4-5).

The oriental looking dress was typical for the elite even by the beginning of the 19th century, as noticed by Ali Bey in 1806: “Persons of

any position always wear long coats, like the Turks, from whom they are distinguishable only by their blue turban; but many wear other colours, and even white, without offending the Turks” (Cobham 1908: 396-397).

According to written sources, men’s clothing consisted of a shirt, baggy breeches (*tsaktziria*, Turk. *çakşır*), usually red, onto which were sewn the *mestia* (Turk. *mest*), footwear made of yellow morocco leather. The colour of footwear was a distinguishing feature strictly defined for subjects; it was a privilege to wear yellow shoes. Over the shirt they wore an *anterin* with a sash around the waist and as outer garments, coats made of costly fabrics, usually lined with fur. About fifteen different kinds of fur have been recorded in Cyprus, the most expensive being those of *samur*, the small black sable from the forests of Siberia, the ashy grey Siberian squirrel, the ermine (*kakoumogounna*, Turk. *kakım*, martes zibellina), snow white decorated by the furriers with black spots, the red fox of the North and the white Tartar fox (renard). The pelisse was the favourite object of luxury, the mark of opulence, hence of social prestige and power.

Furs costing between 500 and 1500 piastres, were bestowed on the appointment of high officials and archbishops; they were offered as honorary gifts to consuls. As noticed by many travellers, the most distinctive feature was the headdress, which conformed to a strict hierarchy. The *sarikin* (Turk. *sarık*, turban) was the headdress of the Moslems; the white *sarık* was forbidden for the subjects. The Greek nobility, Dragomans and doctors, Armenians and Jews, wore *kalpakia*. They were either two-pointed, made of sable fur surrounding a leather cap (see Fig. 3), or in the shape of a mitre (kettle-shaped). The latter type was worn by Phanariotes, the nobles of Chios and Livadeia, the rulers of Moldovlachia. Members of the high clergy wore the same type of apparel with a different headdress (Figure 4). Their luxurious appearance reflects the wealth and glory of the Orthodox Church, which under the Ottomans was restored to its ancient privileges. The power of the Bishops increased especially from the middle of the 18th century when the Grand Vizier (Turk. *Vezir*) appointed them representatives of the Christian subjects.

Upper class women’s dress also comprised oriental style garments. Shirt, long pantaloons fastened around the ankle, a gown bound at the waist by a large sash or girdle fastened by silver buckles and a flowing outer robe. Yellow shoes, a variety of headscarves composing an impressive headdress, as well as a profusion of gold coins, chains and other jewels, complemented the outfit (Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 1996B: 67-247). (Figure 5). The oriental apparel of both sexes is recognizable in depictions.

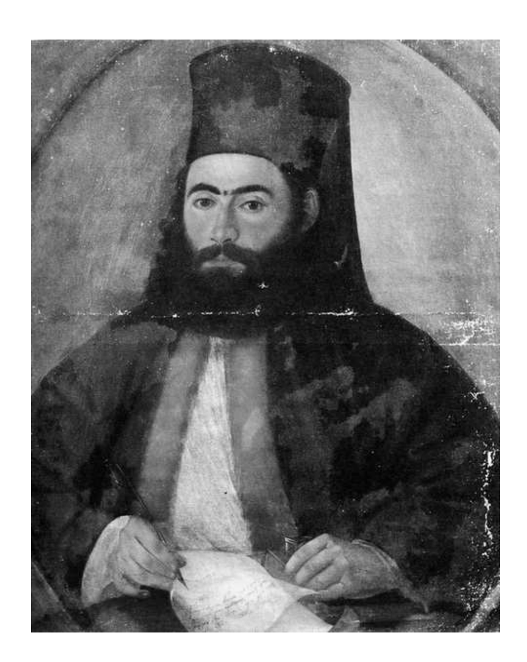


Figure 4



Figure 5.



Figure 6.

A panorama of the clothing of the upper class is presented on the wall painting (1747) depicting the Dragoman Christofakis and his family as donors of the Church of St. George of Arpera in Tersefanou, a village near Larnaca (Figure 6). Their overcoats are made of precious brocades lined with ermine fur. Another Dragoman, the old Hadjijoseph, appears with his family in an icon of 1776 (Figure 7). His wife's pointed headdress, called *tarposin* (Turk. *tarbuş*) is similar to that of the wife of another donor, Michael, depicted with his family in an icon of St. John Prodromos, dated 1794, in the Church of St. John Prodromos, in Dromolaxia (Hadjichristodoulou 2008: A/A 71, figs 127-129).

This and other depictions document the view that it was not only dragomans or other high officials who wore the oriental dress, but wealthy people in general. Donations to churches and monasteries, for the repose of the soul, were a pattern of behaviour, and the well-to-do were the most generous benefactors and donors. Charities were not simply an expression of religious feelings, but also a manifestation of power.

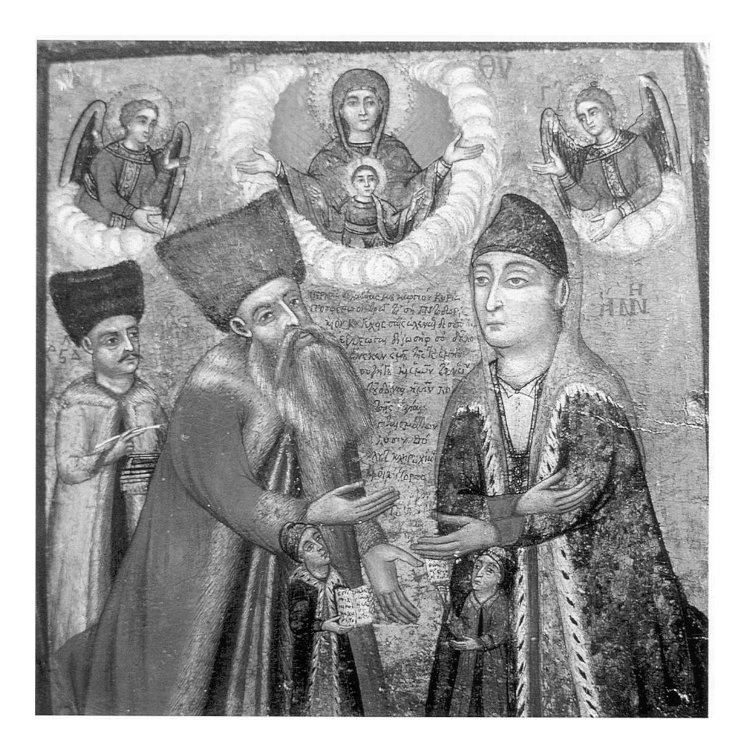


Figure 7.

The elite of the island was mainly concentrated in Nicosia, the administrative and religious centre. The capital of the island, with a population of 12-15,000, two thirds of them Turks, was a mosaic of culturally diverse quarters, with each ethnic group – Greeks, Ottomans, Armenians – coalescing about their respective religious centres, either church or mosque. People of the elite lived in impressive stone-built mansions (Turk. *konak*) comprising oriental looking divan-rooms with carpets, felt or silk covers and velvet cushions. The reception room in the house of the Dragoman Hadjigeorgakis – the only surviving example anywhere in Cyprus - has the most elaborate carved, gilded and painted decoration, comparable with that found in grand houses all over the Empire, from the Balkans to the East.

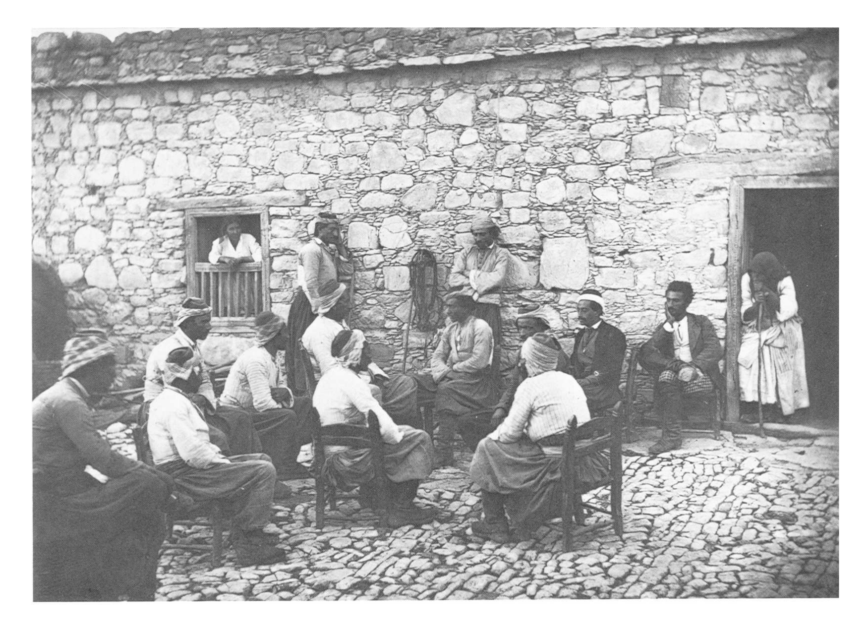


Figure 8.

While the dress of the upper class was similar to that of the conquerors, the characteristic male dress for the wider strata of the population was the attire with the *vraka* (baggy trousers) as its main component (Figure 8). It belonged to the island type of dress that was well established during the later Ottoman period and remained in use until the second half of the 20th century.

The people who formed the top of the social pyramid in Cyprus were comparatively very few, perhaps several hundreds. Yet, whatever power and influence were attainable was concentrated in their hands. They formed the driving force in their particular society.

The wheel of destiny, however, was soon to turn things upside down. In 1821, in anticipation of an insurrection movement in favour of the Greek Revolution, the religious leaders and many Christian notables were executed by the Ottoman rulers. Properties were confiscated, monasteries and churches were plundered, and immense treasures were stolen from them. Within a decade after 1821, 25,000 Cypriots deserted the island and many of them fought as volunteers for the liberation of Greece. For Cyprus, the tragic events of 1821 marked the end of the elite of the island, its oriental-looking appearance, its lifestyle in general. Out of the ashes a new upper class emerged in the following decades. The reforms of 1839

and 1856, which aimed at a general westernization of the Ottoman Empire, extended also to dress. The red fez was generally adopted. The local apparel was also influenced by the close relations of Cyprus with the newly established Kingdom of Greece in the 1830s. This influence is best reflected in the "Amalia" type dress, named after the first queen of Greece (Figure 9); this costume comprised a silk shirt, a skirt or dress, a gold-embroidered jacket and a red fez adorned with black tassels and flowers made of tiny pearls. This apparel was adopted in Cyprus before the middle of the 19th century and became the women's national costume, with the *vraka* type dress as its male counterpart.

The ceding of the administration of Cyprus to Britain, in 1878, brought about serious transformations in the society of the island, which are reflected also in dress. The new elite, members of which founded the first industries and occupied high administrative posts in the Colonial Government, created a different lifestyle. They lived in neo-classical houses furnished with European style furniture, such as Viennese chairs, and were also the first to adopt the Western style dress. In the last decades of the 19th and in the early 20th century, the upper class ladies appear in long, high neck dresses in ivory-cream, black or other solemn colours, decorated with pleats, lace and frills. A waist jacket with skirt also became common. For men as well, the oriental garments belonged to the past, as they were thoroughly substituted by the "Frankish" outfit. Late 19th century photographs show a combination of the European-style costume, either with a straw hat or with a fez, which was still worn by elderly men or by the more conservative Turkish Cypriots (Figure 10). From this time onwards, European fabrics were increasingly imported; local clothing and the shoe industry followed Western designs. The factories were now producing drab shoes and boots of European styles replacing the blue, red and yellow shoes they had supplied to Turkey and Egypt before the British occupation (Jenness 1962: 186). The European fashion expressed different ideals, ambitions and values. The members of the upper classes who first adopted it, formed, as in the past, a small portion of the Cypriot population; yet, they represented the new dynamic element in their society, which gave further impetus to economic and social transformations as Cyprus moved gradually but steadily to its Europeanization.



Figure 9.



Figure 10.

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WOMEN'S FASHIONS IN TRANSITION: OTTOMAN BORDERLANDS AND THE ANGLO-OTTOMAN EXCHANGE OF COSTUMES

ONUR INAL

> "Who could have foreseen the effects of a revolution which took possession, so to speak, of the domestic sanctuaries, of that which is the most private and sacred in the nation, of that which most touches the heart and the life of society? While waiting for the ladies of Stamboul to start following the fashions of France or England, we have seen, just recently, young princesses, daughters of the sultan going for walks in the street with clothing and finery that appeared to be novelties from the West; I ought to tell you that this attempt has not succeeded, and we have seen there but a grotesque travesty. It will probably remain thus" (Michaud and Poujoulat 1834: 85).[1]

Introduction

Fundamental changes have taken place in political practice, economic systems, and social structures which all together facilitate the process of globalization. The movement of people, technology, capital, information, ideas, and commodities has become much easier and faster than it was in the past. Thereby, borders, if not completely brought down, have become far more porous and permeable than in the past. All these globalizing trends have broken down 'hardcore' barriers for information, money, and labor, and given rise to a new narrative of inter-regional and cross cultural

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[1] "Qui pourrait prévoir les effets d'une révolution qui s'emparerait pour ainsi dire des sanctuaires domestiques, de cequ'il y a de plus intime et de plus sacre dans la nation, de ce qui touche le plus au cœur et à la vie de la société? En attendant que les dames de Stamboul suivent les modes de France ou d'Angleterre, nous avons vu, il y a peu de jours, les jeunes princesses, filles de sultan, se promener dans les rues avec des vêtements et des parures qui paraissent être une nouveauté venue d'Occident; je dois vous dire que cette essai n'ai point réussi, et qu'on n'y a qu'un travestissement grotesque. Il est probable qu'on en restera là"

interactions, deterritorialized spaces, transboundary networks, and transnational communities. This narrative has had a profound impact on historical studies, encouraging historians to trace the origins of globalization and cross-cultural and cross-border interactions in the past. This research is an attempt to explore the interchanges between “Eastern” and “Western” worlds in the past and to contribute to the continuing theoretical and historical debate about the process of globalization.

In an attempt to provide an insight into cross-cultural exchanges between the Ottoman and British societies, it emphasizes the stimulus of the Ottoman port cities on Eastern Mediterranean and the people living in these places to the interchange of costumes between Ottoman and British women. It attaches crucial importance to Ottoman women, primarily those living in port cities, since significant changes in fashion, as in philosophy, literature, arts, and architecture, initially affected the lives of port city dwellers rather than rural populations. On the other hand, it also examines British elite women who pioneered the introduction of new Eastern fashion trends in Britain.

As it will be shown in detail in the following, the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain is particularly significant and enduring. It started in the late sixteenth century and developed extensively. Especially from the first half of the eighteenth century onward, encounters between the Ottomans and the British multiplied, bringing sweeping change to the lives of people, especially those living in urban centers. These encounters deepened the significance of the regions that were meeting places of reportedly distinct worlds, and these “borderlands” became places of visible interaction. Cross-cultural exchanges through Ottoman borderlands tremendously changed the lives of individuals. Among the many values, goods and ideas exchanged via merchants, diplomats, travelers, and other itinerant people were costumes and manners. There was continuous cross-cultural exchange of fashions between Ottoman[2] and British women, beginning with their first encounter in the early seventeenth century and continuing on an increasing scale in the following decades. The exchange between two societies was unbalanced, disparate, and disproportionate, although mutual and constant. Not everybody benefited from and influenced by this cross-cultural exchange to the same degree. Resistance, rejection, and indifference always existed. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, although

[2] Although Ottoman Muslim women dwelling in Ottoman port cities were described “Turkish” by British observers, I will use the term “Ottoman” as a short form of “Ottoman Muslim,” instead of “Ottoman Turkish” or “Turkish” to avoid any controversy.

not equally, people on both sides had experienced "a taste of foreign culture" in the Ottoman borderlands and beyond.

Some remarks on Ottoman Port cities as borderlands

For a long time, a scholarly tendency has existed that regarded the Ottomans and Europeans as alien societies, separated by religion and culture. In most cases, Ottoman and European societies were presented as two separate entities, which had limited intercourse and were indifferent to each other's presence. The Ottomans were described as remaining ignorant of Europeans until the emergence of Europe as a dominant culture. Such tendencies and assumptions, nurtured largely by orientalist discourses, no longer dominate the writing of Ottoman history. A new generation of historians challenges perceptions derived from oriental historiography, such as the idea that Ottoman borders were physical markers between "us" and "them," and that they were impenetrable barriers between two distinct societies and religions. These historians contest the conventional view that the borders between the Ottoman Empire and its European neighbors indicated dividing lines between Christians and Muslims and demarcated the "East" from the "West." They emphasize the mobility and connectivity of Ottoman borderlands and reject the once-dominant view that Ottoman and European societies were two separate entities with limited intercourse.

This new generation of Ottoman historians also disagrees with those who used religion as a defining characteristic of civilizations and cultures.[3] Transcending and violating artificial designations, they take the position that the Ottoman Empire was as an integral part of Europe and argue that the borders of Islam and the borders of the Ottoman Empire never coincided (Brummett 2007: 19-20). Their works open a new way to treat Ottoman borderlands and give us an opportunity to reconsider the intricacy of relations on both sides of the border and to tackle the "borderland problematic" afresh.

These historians also critically analyze the shortcomings of conventional approaches that have assessed Ottoman borderlands according to their geographic and military significance; perceived them as frontiers with negative connotations; and referred to them as remote places, blurred zones, and places of conflict.[4] As a counter-argument, they accentuate the role played by port cities. Underestimated previously, Ottoman port cities

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[3] Many scholars advocate this view in their works; two of the most significant are (Huntington 1993) and (Lewis 1997).
[4] For example, see (Karpat 2003), (Sinclair 2003), and (Reinkowski 2003).

were places of cross-cultural encounters, interactions, and borrowings. Daniel Goffman finds that “Constantinople epitomized this physical and emotional integration into Europe” (Goffman 2002: 12). Edhem Eldem likewise argues that Istanbul was not an ordinary city but a place of contact between cultures, ethnicities, and conflicting forces (Eldem 1999: 138). Many other scholars have asserted that shared economic and political interests on Ottoman borderlands did not divide, but connected the “East and West,” or “Europe and the Ottomans” (Brummett 2007: 19).

The assessments of this new group of Ottoman historians, in fact, have some resemblances to the work of recent borderland historians who have extensively studied the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. One of the eminent borderland historians is Oscar Martinez, who analyzed the “border phenomenon” based on his observations in the U.S.-Mexico border region. Martinez prefers the term “borderland” to denote a region of interaction on both sides of the border line that unites two societies, rather than dividing them (Martinez 1994: 5). The borderland itself forms a heterogeneous society more like the borderland on the other side of the border than either borderland is to its respective hinterland. He believes that his model is applicable to borderlands in other parts of the world, since international borders share common features, such as the demarcation of nations and the control—not the prevention--of flows of people and goods (Martinez 1994: xviii). Numerous researchers have employed Martinez’s “borderland model” to analyze different kinds of interactions among groups and networks on both side of various borders. The borderland model has extended far beyond the U.S.-Mexican perspective and has been applied to the political, economic, social, and cultural dynamics of different regions. It has been developed and adapted to different political and historical circumstances throughout the world, as Michiel Baud and Willem van Schendel show in their comparative study of borderlands, but it has mostly remained dependent on a state-centered approach, which has restricted researchers to geographical, legal, and political delimitations set by the central state (Baud and van Schendel 1997: 241). Daphne Berdahl, for instance, on her study of Kella, a [former] East German border village, during the transition from socialism to capitalism, employed the German term *Zwischenraum* (in-between-space) to describe “the space between the boundaries of the known” (Berdahl 1999: 8). She suggested that the notion of a *Zwischenraum*, “with its spatial implications and connotations of interstitially” is similar to the term borderland; yet it *Zwischenraum* is also distinct from *borderland* because of “its relationship to a dynamic state power” (Berdahl 1999: 46).

The term borderland does not indicate a fixed geographical site between two solid entities, such as nations, societies, religions, and cultures, but refer to a domain where a variety of locales meet, intersect, overlap, and often, constitute a unique "borderland milieu." In this respect, the borderland is, as Roger Rouse noted, "an alternative cartography of social space" (Rouse 2001: 9). Port cities on the Mediterranean shores of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century offer, not only physically but also metaphorically, an example of such a space. They had striking qualities of borderlands, such as porosity, transience, openness, and flux, and fostered encounter, exchange, and interconnectedness. The role of port cities on the Mediterranean, such as Izmir, Istanbul, Salonica, Alexandria and Beirut, became much more pronounced after the dramatic economic changes of the nineteenth century. Relative independence from the legacies, conventions, and bureaucracies of the center promoted their development. Foreign trade grew largely due to improved facilities of transportation and communication, and the share of Western Europe in Ottoman commerce sharply increased in the second half of the nineteenth century. Simply put, the value of trade increased nine times between 1840 and 1914 and the port cities accounted for more than half of Ottoman trade. Port cities became the main venue of encounter between Ottoman and European societies and came to provide an alternative domain for cultural and economic interaction to the rest of the empire, not only because of their privileged economic and political positions, but also because of their multi-cultural and tolerant environment (Keyder 1998). Beyond the opportunities of the market, it was this multi-culturalism, integration, and intensified globality which attracted people to come and settle in port cities. Therefore, as Eldem suggested, they adhered to neither the "European" nor the "Islamic" city model but functioned as "middle grounds" between the Ottoman and Christian European worlds (Eldem, Goffman, and Masters 1999: 14-15).

Port cities on the Eastern Mediterranean, as significant centers of commerce in the Ottoman Empire, were distinguishable from many of the inland towns in the region. Their unique position on the waterfront enabled these cities to constitute an Ottoman borderland milieu, a site of transcultural interactions between the Ottomans and Europeans. In other words, nineteenth-century Ottoman port cities can be considered as borderlands between different ethnicities and civilizations.

Ottoman port cities shared more common characteristics with their counterparts in Europe, especially with those located on the shores of the Mediterranean, than with inland cities. For this reason, the borderland model can help us to reconfigure previous assumptions that ignored the

socio-cultural impacts of these cities both on Europeans and Ottomans, and to think beyond the repeatedly stated East-West divide.[5] Early British merchants, who sailed the Mediterranean under the flag of the Levant Company, disembarked at the Ottoman ports and engineered Anglo-Ottoman political and commercial relations at the end of the sixteenth century.[6] These merchants had the first direct contact with Muslims in the ports on the Eastern Mediterranean, although their relationship was limited to commerce. They took advantage of circumstances and created favorable conditions for the establishment of social relations with the people with whom they interacted. This economic interdependence, as Martinez has suggested, allowed the exchange of cultural elements across boundaries (Martinez 1994: 9). Stanley Ross posits that "the borderlands are the meeting places of two societies, not the edge of one. In the borderlands, two societies do not simply abut, they overlap" (Ross 1978: xii). Ottoman port cities as borderlands constituted the interface between British and Ottoman societies. Starting from the late sixteenth century, two cultures met, clashed, and overlapped in these Ottoman borderlands. British merchants, travelers, mercenaries, itinerant artists, migrants, and craftsmen mingled with the Turks and other local populations in these cities--i.e., the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Levantines--and formed part of a larger borderland milieu. Martinez's argument, that people of borderlands are culturally heterogeneous, whereas the populations in national heartlands live in more homogenous environments, applies very well to the diversity of Ottoman port cities (Martinez 1994: 16).

Martinez categorizes borderlands according to the extent and kind of interactions that predominate. The cultural interactions between British and Ottoman people in Ottoman port cities would fit into his "interdependent borderland" category, in which two societies are "symbiotically linked" (Martinez 1994: 8). This term indicates societies that were interlinked; one could not exist without the other. The borderland effect accelerated the increase of interdependency between the two cultures. Ottoman borderlands never lost their characteristic of connecting two cultures symbiotically, although the interaction became asymmetrical, especially in the nineteenth century. European cultural elements, initially appropriated by upper-class elites, were filtered down to other segments of Ottoman society, whereas the influence of Ottoman

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[5] For a theoretical analysis of Ottoman port-cities from the perspective of Wallerstein's world-systems theory, see (Keyder, Özveren, and Quataert 1993).
[6] For further information on the Levant Company, see (Wood 1935). For the start and early period of Anglo-Ottoman relations, see (Skilliter 1977). For a general overview of Anglo-Ottoman relations, see (Hale and Bağış 1984).

culture on English society remained limited to the members of high society.

British Adoption of Ottoman Womens's Fashion

One of the items exchanged across the borderland, and one which has not been extensively studied in that context, was women's clothing styles. British women's interest in the clothing of Ottoman women was arguably not a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. It actually started at the beginning of the seventeenth century with the publication of travelers' accounts including pictorial descriptions of the clothes worn in the Ottoman Empire.[7] After the initiation of diplomatic and commercial relations between the two governments in 1580, the number of British visitors to the Ottoman ports constantly increased. Commercial exchanges between the British and the Ottomans included the selling and buying of textiles and clothes. British merchants, diplomats, and mercenaries, who constantly shuttled between the ports of Britain and the Ottoman Empire, frequently loaded their baggage with Ottoman costumes. Although we do not have precise information on the arrival of Ottoman costume in Britain, it is known that Henry VIII (1491-1547) appeared as a Turkish Sultan at a masquerade at the English court in the 1530s (Jirousek 2005: 240). William Harborne (1542-1617), the first British envoy to the Ottoman Empire, donned Turkish clothes on his way to Istanbul in order not to be recognized by his French and Venetian rivals (Hakluyt 1904: 168-69). Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, theaters and plays presented Ottoman dress fancifully to European elites. Theatrical productions played a significant role in keeping Europeans' interest in Ottoman costumes alive.[8]

In the eighteenth century, Turkish themes in literature, theatre, culture, interior decoration, painting and costume became a widely current, first in Paris and then throughout the rest of Europe (Ribeiro 1979: 16).[9] Called *Turquerie*, or *Turkomania*, this new 'fashion' expressed itself conspicuously in costumes after 1714, when the French ambassador to Istanbul, Marquis Charles de Ferriol (1637-1722) had the illustration album entitled *Recueil de Cent Estampes representant differentes Nations du Levant* published in Paris. The album was a collection of engravings of various clothes worn in

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[7] For a list of costume books published before 1600, see (Olian 1977).
[8] For further information on Ottoman costumes on European stages, see (MacKenzie 1995: 208-16).
[9] For a much recent study on Turquerie, see (Stein 1997).

the Ottoman Empire, reproduced after the paintings of Dutch artist Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737). In 1757, Thomas Jeffery (1727-1788) reproduced many of Vanmour's paintings in his famous masquerade pattern album, *Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations*, which introduced Turkish dress to the English elites (Baines 1981: 162). Because the interactions of European travelers with local people were restricted by language differences, the albums produced by European artists according to travelers' accounts tended to focus on Ottoman court and military cultures, projecting these observations onto the whole of Ottoman society (*Military Costume of the Ottoman Empire* 2000: 9).[10] In Britain, these albums seem to have set a fashion *à la Turque* for special masquerades, fancy balls, and other forms of elaborate elite entertainment as late as the second half of the eighteenth century. For example, Christian VII (1749-1808), the King of Denmark gave a masked ball at the Haymarket Opera House in London on October 10, 1768, in which the chief personalities appeared in Ottoman costume. Socialites, such as Lord Grosvenor and the Duchess of Ancaster, had such elaborate costumes "in the style of eastern magnificence, that we [guests] were transported in fancy to the palaces from the borders of the Thames" (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1768: 450).[11]

In the same period, Ottoman women's rights over their husbands, such as the right to refuse conjugal sex, to own property, to enter into contracts or to divorce their spouses, seem to have had an impact on the emerging suffrage movement in Britain, in what MacLeod calls the "liberating effect of imperialism" (Macleod 1998: 63). Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), the wife of the British ambassador to Istanbul, who had a considerable impact on the interchange of fashion between Ottoman and British women, particularly mentioned Ottoman women's rights of inheritance and protection by her husband that went far beyond the rights of European women (Montagu 1993: 71-72). These rights came to be symbolized by Ottoman women's dress, especially by *şalvar*, a voluminous undergarment in white fabric shaped like what are called today "harem pants." During her short stay in Istanbul from 1716 to 1718, Lady Montagu she wrote letters with full descriptions of Ottoman [elite] women's costumes and expressed her admiration of them and their dress. In her letters, she provided literate Europeans a different perspective of Ottoman women and inspired many intellectuals and writers to become interested in the dress of Muslim women, which reflected their dignity and rights in

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[10] *The Military Costumes of Turkey*, published by Thomas McLean in London in 1818 as the last album of a seven-volume series entitled *The Costumes of Various Nations*, was one example of such albums.

[11] For the complete account of this masked ball, see (Olsen 1837: 30-53).

Ottoman society. For example, in a letter to the Countess of Mar on March 10, 1717, she portrayed Hafize (Hafsa) Sultan, a favorite of the deposed Sultan Mustafa, in the following words:

> But her dress was something so surprisingly rich, that I cannot forebear describing it to you. She wore a vest called *donalmá*, which differs from a *caftán* by longer sleeves, and folding over at the bottom. It was of purple cloth, straight to her shape, and thick set on each side, down to her feet, and round the sleeves, with pearls of the best water, of the same size as their buttons commonly are (*Letters of Lady M. W. Montagu during the Embassy to Constantinople, 1716-18, Vol. II* 1820: 18).

Lady Montagu dressed like Ottoman women not only for curiosity or authenticity, but also to travel incognito by passing as an Ottoman woman and to correct the writings of fantasy-inspired male writers (Konuk 2004). She even had herself painted in Ottoman dress. Upon her return to England, she took oriental textiles with her and donned the dress of the Ottoman women in order to give support to the feminist movement in Britain, which was just coming into prominence among women (Jirousek 2005: 243). It can be said that it was with Lady Montagu that Ottoman dress for the first time left Constantinople, crossed the border that separated two cultures, and reached the ports along the English Channel. Lady Montagu's *Embassy Letters*, which portrayed Ottoman women markedly differently from previous writings, had a considerable impact when they were published in 1763, a year after her death. She tailored Ottoman dress to the needs of British women and showed the adaptability of some Ottoman elements to European costume. Her letters and description of Ottoman women's dress stimulated British upper-class women's adoption of the Ottoman mode, together with anything suitable –modest or magnificent- from abroad (Baines 1981: 161). Montagu can be regarded as one of the earlier examples of "border-crossing women" between European and Ottoman societies and cultures, as she endeavored to adjust to the new environment in which she found herself.

Another border-crosser, Elizabeth Craven (1750-1828), was filled with admiration for Ottoman customs regarding women's liberated position behind the veil. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, she visited the Ottoman lands, wrote a series of letters, and published them in 1789 in a book entitled *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*. She was attracted to the sacredness of the harem as a haven for women away from men and described the situation in the following words: "I think, I never saw a country whose women may enjoy so much liberty and freedom from all reproach, as in Turkey. A Turkish husband that sees a pair of slippers at the door of his harem must not enter (Craven 1789: 205). At the turn of the

nineteenth century, British ladies, especially those whose husbands were connected with the Ottoman palace as diplomats, merchants and interpreters, occasionally visited the harem and managed to establish social relationships and cultural connections across the boundary (Dallaway 1797: 30). They enjoyed and adopted culture, clothing, and values different from their own and became precursors of Ottoman modes that would influence British socialites from the eighteenth century onwards. The attitudes of these border-crossers in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, therefore, can be seen as a conscious effort to change the conservative mindset of the British people through the passage provided by Ottoman borderlands.[12]

In fact, the establishment of *turquerie* in the courts of London in the eighteenth century came about through Montagu and Craven and their followers in the succeeding decades. Sophia Lane Poole (1804-1891), [Miss] Julia Pardoe (1806-1862), Isabel Burton (1831-1896), Isabella [Lucy] Bird (1831-1914), and Lady Anne [Isabella] Blunt (1837-1917) were some of the border-crossers who adopted the dress of Ottoman women following their sojourns in Constantinople in the nineteenth century (Mellman 1992: 119). They wore or brought home Ottoman dress due to their admiration for a culture which was different from theirs. In their writings, they rebutted previous images which had stereotyped Muslim women as odalisques, love objects and men's slaves (Macleod 1998: 63). Julia Pardoe (1806-1862), a British fiction and travel writer of the Romantic Period, visited Istanbul in 1835 and noted the inaccuracy of male descriptions of Muslim women as follows:

> […] but it is a great fallacy to imagine that Turkish females are like birds in a cage, or captives in a cell […] All this may, and indeed must appear startling, to persons, who have accustomed themselves to believe that Turkish wives were morally manacled slaves. There are probably, no women so little trammeled in the world; so free to come and to go unquestioned, provided that they are suitably attended; while it is equally certain that they enjoy this privilege like innocent and happy children, making their pleasures of the flowers and the sunshine; and revelling like the birds and bees amid the summer brightness, profiting by the enjoyment of the passing hour, and reckless or thoughtless of the future (Pardoe 1838: 127).

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[12] British travel literature on the Middle East is remarkably rich. For British women travelers in the Middle East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see (Melman 1992), (Lewis 2004), (Hodgson 2005), (Lewis and Micklewright 2006), and (Roberts 2007).

In the nineteenth century, Ottoman dress continued in vogue among the British socialites, who wanted to display their wealth, prestige, and uniqueness at fancy balls and masquerades. These occasions were well documented in newspapers and journals. For example, in May 1819 the news appeared in *Belle Assemblee* that all the ladies at a ball organized by the Prince of Wales appeared in Ottoman costumes (Marcus 1819: 186-87). In the early nineteenth century, following the French Revolution and Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, turbans became especially popular among British women (Searight 1970: 168-69). Silk turbans were worn in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century and for a long time they remained one of the favorite parts of Ottoman costume. Recommendations of turban caps for wear with elegant dresses frequently appeared in women's journals. *The Ladies Monthly Museum* recommended for British ladies "a turban cap, lined with pink, ornamented with roses in front" with a brown muslin dress in October 1807 (Searight 1970: 169). *La Belle Assemblee* reported in January 1825 that "the sash and headdress of costumes were both imitative of the Asiatic Turk, but the turban was improved by the disposal of the plumage; and, instead of the Ottoman aigrette of feathers, placed exactly in the center, a bird-of-paradise plume waved gracefully over the right side" (*La Belle Assemblee* 1825).

Like the tendency of Ottoman elites to use the Mediterranean *lingua franca* in the Ottoman Empire, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, the upper class in Britain enthusiastically used a new vocabulary to describe their new garments. Starting from the eighteenth century, the British who visited the Ottoman borderlands or had contact with people visiting or living there introduced words of Turkish, Arabic, or Persian origin into the nomenclature of British fashion. At the end of the eighteenth century 'Sultane' and 'circassian' were very popular names for British dresses based on the original Turkish *kaftan* (caftan) (Ribeiro 1979: 20). The Turkish term *dolman*, or *dolaman*, referring to a long and loose garment with narrow sleeves and an opening in the front, was also borrowed by the British (Jirousek 2005: 249). Words related to fabrics or clothing, such as *kalpak* (calpac), *çekmek* (chekmak), *yelek* (jelick), *martağan* (martagon), *sabot*, *şal* (shawl), and *yağmurluk* (yarmulke), passed into English through the Ottoman borderlands. Some textiles, such as muslin (Mosul) and damascene (Damascus), were named according to their places of origin in the Ottoman territories. At the beginning, these words were very fashionable among high-society ladies. Later they became widespread with the growth of fashion magazines.

Fashion magazines and paper patterns were two significant developments that broke new ground in spreading new fashion trends.

Until the emergence of women's magazines and paper patterns, women who lived far from the centers, or did not have the means to visit shops and stores for purchasing clothes or staying informed on current fashion, had depended on local tailors or itinerant merchants for the fabrication of new dresses (Micklewright 1992: 127). *The Ladies Mercury* (1693-1694), the *Ladies' Diary* (1704-1841), the *Tatler* (1709-1711), and *The Ladies' Journal* (1727) were the earliest magazines in Britain to give information about cookery, family life, love, and marriage, but *The Lady's Magazine* (1770-1837) was issued regularly as a true fashion-plate magazine (Laudermilk and Hamlin 1989: 33; Braithwaite 1995: 10). *The Gallery of Fashion*, which appeared in 1794, and *The Magazine of Female Fashions of London & Paris*, which appeared in 1798, were two leading magazines devoted entirely to fashion (Adburgham 1972: 204 and 207). *La Belle Assemblée, or Court Fashionable Magazine* (1806-1868), *The Ladies Cabinet of Fashions* (1839-1843), *The Queen, An Illustrated Journal and Review* (1861-1970) [after 1970-Harper's Bazaar], *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* (1875-1900) also gave dressmaking tips and frequently reported Ottoman costumes worn at the gatherings of elites (Braithwaite 1995: 11-14). The subscription service of women's magazines allowed the rapid dissemination of fashion news all around the world (Micklewright 1992: 128). In other words, fashion magazines spearheaded the spread of fashion ideas and the breaking of geographical boundaries and barriers. In addition to the effects of the fashion-plate magazines, the development of paper patterns diminished the dependency on local tailors and dressmakers, as women started to use these dress patterns to sew their own clothes.

Although Ottoman women's clothing drew the attention of the urban elites in Britain, they reserved it for certain occasions, such as promenades, fancy balls and masquerades. This preference was not only due to the peculiarity of Ottoman women's dress, but also due to the fact that European dress represented the extrovert character of British women by revealing more of the contours of the body than did the dress of Ottoman women. The desire to display the contours of the body had caused fourteenth-century Europeans to invent tailoring –the use of curved seams and darts for the purpose of fitting the garment to the body (Jirousek 2005: 234). Since then, the wealthy usually had their own dressmakers, tailors, and milliners, and they frequently visited them to place new orders for themselves according to the latest fashions (Micklewright 1992: 127). The striking difference between men's and women's dress existed in Europe for a long time, and this situation was supported by custom. In the 1800s, this difference was much more pronounced in Europe than in the Ottoman

Empire. At that time, hose or trousers, and skirts each became reserved exclusively for one sex (Jirousek 2005: 234).

In the Ottoman Empire, however, male and female dress were quite similar for centuries. The main item that was worn by both sexes was *şalvar*. The importation in the 1800s of *şalvar*, worn by Ottoman women for centuries, influenced the adoption of trousers by British and American elite and non-elite women towards the end the nineteenth century. Earlier, Lady Hester Stanhope (1776-1839), a border-crosser, an intrepid traveler and at the same time the niece of the British Prime Minister William Pitt (the Younger), became one of the first British ladies to wear trousers during her voyage to the Holy Land. In November 1811, en route to Egypt from Constantinople by sea, her ship was destroyed by a storm and she was shipwrecked on the island of Rhodes. She and her party were fortuitously brought to land by local fishermen, but all her clothes had been lost in the shipwreck. There were no European clothes available on the island and the only way was to adopt local costumes. Lady Stanhope, however, despised the Greeks and refused to wear their clothing. Since she had no interest in dressing as a Muslim Ottoman woman and wearing a veil, either, she became thoroughly confused. Finally she solved the situation by dressing as an Ottoman man (Meryon 1845: 97-103; Childs 1990: 89-90). When British subjects sent a letter from Syria to London describing her new mannish appearance wearing a free-cut and voluminous *şalvar*, cotton shirt and waistcoat, it caused a scandal in Britain (*The Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, and Sciences, etc.* 1823: 760). Lady Stanhope was considered eccentric in her peculiar dress. Although she continued to dress in the Turkish manner for the rest of her life, she was not successful in making European women follow her example.

Ottoman women's *şalvar* finally gained success across the Ottoman borders towards the end of the nineteenth century, when some other border-crossers endeavored to make it a fashion in Britain. Fanny Janet Blunt (1839-1926), who was born in Istanbul and lived in the Ottoman Empire nearly sixty years, was an admirer of Ottoman women and the liberties they had. On several occasions, she dressed in Ottoman women's dress (Blunt 1918: 26-27, 93, 98, 113, and 166-67). She continued to wear Ottoman women's dress after she had returned to Britain to demonstrate her admiration for them (Macleod 1998: 70). Other British ladies, such as Lady [Janey] Archibal Campbell (1845-1923) and Lady Ottoline [Violet Anne] Morrell (1873-1938) wore *şalvar* in an attempt to symbolize their refusal of traditional British standards and sexual differences (Macleod 1998: 70-75). Whereas *şalvar* was worn both by men and women in the

Ottoman Empire, it threatened coded gender distinctions when it reached Britain. On the other hand, Amelia Jenks Bloomer (1818-1894), American women's rights and temperance advocate, partly inspired by the bifurcated garments of the Orient, introduced pantaloons or "Bloomers" to the United States as a symbol of liberation in the 1850s (Levitt 1993: 27-37; Fisher 2001: 79-86). In July 1851, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* reported that some practical reformers, as bold as Joan d'Arc, discarded the trailing skirt and adopted the far more convenient, equally chaste, and more elegant dress of Oriental women in several places in America (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 1851: 288). Nevertheless, this outfit named after her did not catch on; it was often ridiculed in the press and the women wearing it were harassed on the street (Baines 1981: 169). Two decades later, in 1871, another American feminist, Mary Edwards Walker (1832-1919), encouraged the introduction of long pants for women to American society, for she believed that dress reform in America was of paramount importance for women and the advantages of pants for women were too evident. Walker gained success in 1890s, when she regularly appeared in a gentleman's full evening dress (Macleod 1998: 65).[13] Western women's advocating freedoms and building a culture of resistance and struggle have been discussed by many researchers, but not in the border context. The perception of freedom symbolized by the same type of clothing worn by women on both side of the border verifies their interaction through a permeable border. Moreover, the British women's donning of Ottoman dress represents the potential of processes of cross-cultural interchange to erode not only geographical but also cultural and ideological borders in a world of multiplying interactions.

Besides numerous cross-cultural encounters between British and Ottoman women, as well as the variety of literary sources listed above, illustration albums produced by British visitors and later photographs taken by local photographers provided a select but influential audience in Britain with valuable information about the costumes worn by Ottoman women, especially in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Thomas Allom's (1804-1872) *Character and Costume in Italy and Turkey* was published in 1845 and supplied images of Constantinople and its people to a European reader. Photography, which became widespread after the 1850s, helped to record the costumes of Ottoman women and conveyed them to British women. British tourists purchased photo-albums and postcards as mementoes of their visits to the Levant. Many postcards of British women in Turkish attire were taken after the 1850s. Jennifer Scarce

[13] For Walker's ideas on the dress reform in America, see (Walker 1871: 57-84).

calls this photography "the Europeanization of Turkish costume," because of the fact that in many photos British tourists were pictured in oriental costumes. These oriental images drew the attention of more and more British women to the clothing of Ottoman women (Scarce 1988: 18). Beginning in 1851 in London, universal expositions held in Europe and the United States gave the Ottomans an opportunity to display their own culture, including costumes and textiles.[14] For the Vienna Exhibition in 1873, the renowned painter and archaeologist Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) produced an album in which regional costumes were presented to connoisseurs, art enthusiasts, and dilettantes (De Launay and Hamdy Bey 1873). All these developments had a profound effect on people's perception of the abstraction called "border" in Britain and elsewhere. The interchanges and transaction between two cultures promoted open-mindedness and receptivity, and rendered border-crossing possible at least conceptually or in imagination for people who could not cross it geographically.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Ottoman women's clothing tended to decrease in importance as a result of unpredictable developments. The necessity for British women's involvement in the war turned in their favor; since trousers facilitated their work at the front, Parliament let them wear trousers during the First World War. With the war, trousers left the Ottoman harem and all its exoticism and became a part of consumer culture and everyday fashion in Britain, worn by all classes of British women, regardless of age or status (Macleod 1998: 77). Although Turkish taste lost its significance in Britain after the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, it has never entirely left the country; designers such as Thea Porter (1927-2000) have been inspired by Turkish dress in recent years (Baines 1981: 162).

Ottoman Women's Adoption of European Fashiion

While the British, together with other Europeans, accumulated information about the costumes and manners of the Ottomans through the various avenues discussed above, the Ottomans remained generally apathetic toward European culture. The first conscious step towards the exploration of European ideas, values, and customs came during a period called the "Tulip Era" (1718-1730). During the Tulip Era, Damad İbrahim Paşa (1660-1730), the enlightened Grand Vizier of Sultan Ahmed III

[14] For example, see (*La Turquie a l'Exposition Universelle de 1867. Ouvrage Publié par les soins et sous la Direction de S. Exc. Salaheddin Bey, Comissaire Impérial Ottoman prés l'Exposition Universelle* 1867: 103-12).

(1673-1736 [r.1703-1730]), determined to explore European values and adopt them, if necessary, while maintaining peace with European governments. Accordingly, he sent Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi Efendi (?-1732) and his entourage to Paris in 1720 to make a thorough study of France and report the innovations applicable in the Ottoman realm. Çelebi Efendi was the first Ottoman envoy to reside in Paris, where he stayed for eleven months. Upon his return to Istanbul he compiled his memoirs and observations in France into a book and presented it to the Sultan.[15] In addition to military innovations, Çelebi Efendi's *Sefaretname*, the account of his ambassadorial travel, conveyed information to the Ottoman court about the cultural "peculiarities" of the French. Invited to a ball at Versailles, Çelebi Efendi observed and recorded the costumes and manners of the French he came across (Göcek 1987: 34-44). Through his *Sefaretname,* a new Ottoman travel genre, he contributed greatly to Ottoman perceptions of Europe. Several *sefaretname*s were written after his and, in contrast to European acquaintance with the Ottoman Empire through the frequent visits of individual travelers, for the Ottomans the *sefaretnames* remained the main source of information on European costumes and manners throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[16]

Although there had been an increase over the years in the amount of fabric used to make up traditional Ottoman garments, the design of the clothing, like other political, social and cultural matters in the Ottoman Empire, had not come into question until the ill-fated reforms of Sultan Selim III (1761-1808 [r.1789-1808]). His reform program to modernize the military according to European norms included the adoption of western-style uniforms with tight pants and short jackets. These reforms were challenged by the Janissary corps and the *ulema* (religious and judicial elite), who remained unconvinced of the need for modernization. Selim's military reforms did not find success and died with him in 1808 (Baker 1986: 73). Later, holding up Selim's initiative as an example, Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839 [r.1808-1839]) embarked much more carefully on a series of reforms covering many aspects of individual life. In 1826, after getting the *ulema*'s approval, he launched his clothing reforms together with a series of military reforms, including the abolition of the Janissaries and the re-organization of the army. In 1827, Sultan

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[15] The book was first published in Paris and Istanbul in 1757 as *Relation de l'embassade de Mehmet Effendi a la cour de la France en 1721 écrite par lui meme et traduit par Julién Galland*. For a recent edition, see (Veinstein 1981).

[16] The intended audience for the *sefaretname*s was the high-officials in the Ottoman palace. On the *sefaretname*s of Ottoman envoys to Europe and elsewhere, see (Unat 1968).

Mahmud designed a new uniform replacing the heavily symbolic *turban* with the *fez*, a cylindrical cap of red felted wool with a silk tassel hanging from the top. In 1829, the boundaries of new clothes were expanded and the *fez*, together with the frock coat, a shirt with a collar, and European-styled shoes became the compulsory everyday wear of all government employees of the empire except those of the religious profession (Baker 1986: 77). With these edicts, Mahmud aimed to replace the previous community and status symbols and to homogenize the society (Quataert 1997: 403). Nevertheless, the clothing law of Mahmud II, though reflecting the expanding power of the state, was an official prescription of clothing for the bureaucracy and military, and did not have any significant regulatory influence on women's clothing in the empire.

Ottoman women's clothing can be divided into two groups: clothing worn outside, especially on certain occasions, and daily clothing, clothes worn at home. In this sense, clothing served as "the ultimate delineator of public and private," as Micklewright states (Micklewright 2000: 156). An Ottoman woman wore her finest clothes on certain occasions. The most significant of them was certainly her wedding. It indicated her passage to a new role, leaving her own family and becoming dependent on her husband (Micklewright 1989: 161-74). The birth of a child, the circumcision of a boy, formal visits, picnics, and others' weddings were all special social occasions on which to wear the finest costumes and accessories.

The daily clothing of Ottoman women differed from their British counterparts' both in style and use. Although there were small-scale changes in textile or material and accessories, women's clothing in the Ottoman Empire was simple and remained unchanged for centuries. It was worn in layers both for functional and aesthetic purposes, and consisted of two or three parts; *şalvar* (trousers) and *gomlek* (chemise) were worn as underwear. *Entari*, a gown in varying shapes, colors and combinations, was worn over this underwear. *Yelek* (a sleeveless hip-length or full-length waistcoat), or a hip-length *entari* with wide sleeves could be worn as a final part over all of them (Scarce 1988: 21-24; Micklewright 1987: 36-37). When going out, women concealed all these impressive costumes with a *ferace* (a loose ankle-length coat with full sleeves of a dark color) and a *yaşmak* (white veils covering the head and face) (Scarce 1988: 24). Veiling and the wearing of certain colors and fabrics, as well as accessories, especially headgear, were indicators of women's social status in the empire. What determined the appearance of Ottoman women were certain sumptuary regulations based on Islamic law and social norms, but susceptible to change. This situation started to change gradually in the eighteenth century. For example, *şalvar* was never worn, and the *gömlek*

started to be made with a deep 'V' neck. Also, there were some new fashions of *entari* with European elements and accessories worn by Ottoman women, which immediately caught the attention of European travelers. One of them was Julia Pardoe, who occasionally visited the harems of Ottoman elites. In one of these visits, she described a black slave in the harem of Azmi Efendi, the Military Commandand, as follows: "Her dress, although in Turkish form, was partly of European arrangement […] Her *antery* was of English bombazine, sprinkled with colored flowers […]" (Pardoe 1845: 252-53).

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the export of large amounts of fabrics manufactured in the industrial centers of Britain caused the British merchants to visit the ports of the Levant much more frequently. Accordingly, imported fabrics were much more often used to make traditional garments in the Ottoman Empire in this period. In addition, special trade agreements between the Ottomans and the British and progress in the transportation system facilitated the infiltration of new European style-clothing from Britain. *Fraser Magazine*, in April 1838, wrote that the Mediterranean is "a channel of moral and intellectual, as well as commercial barter" (*Fraser's Magazine* 1838). This is a reference to the increasing number of steamships, which replaced the sailing ships that in previous decades operated according to the demands of merchants, not of tourists. Steamships started plying the waters of the Eastern Mediterranean from the early nineteenth century. They promoted comfort and hence caused an appreciable number of British tourists in European attire to flock to the ports of the Ottoman Empire, particularly Constantinople, Izmir, Salonica and Beirut. Ottoman port cities expanded their role as places of contact, interaction, and cross-cultural exchange. Though not as frequently as their European counterparts, the Ottomans started to benefit from the steamships to make visits to European capitals, too.

Encounters of Muslim and British women mostly took place in the harem, which was the private domain of Muslim women. British women had more easy access to the harem of the Muslim elites than any male traveler. This privileged place provided multiple opportunities for interaction and exchange between Ottoman and British women. Almost every foreign visitor somehow managed to get herself invited to visit a Muslim lady at home, and the accounts of these visits provide useful details of at-home dress and manners. Borderlanders acted between Ottoman and British women, since they were familiar with the languages, customs, and manners of both sides. The most visible example of borderlanders of the Ottoman realm were the Levantines, indigenous non-

Muslim residents of the cities on the Eastern Mediterranean having British, French, or Italian descent. They were neither European nor Easterner, but rather were betwixt and between the two societies. The Levantines took the advantage of their transnational and hybrid identity and enjoyed both European and Ottoman cultures. Levantine women were the first to contact these European tourists and travelers. Their familiarity with both cultures allowed them to act as a principal transmission agency for cultural exchange. In other words, they played an intermediary role between the Ottoman and British women and facilitated cross-cultural borrowing of each other's clothing styles. After their contacts with the ladies from Europe, the Levantine women started to mix European styles with their existing garments. Cut and decoration were modified and traditional garments looked more European, as some decorative elements, like frills, were added to traditional garments. British fabrics, especially cheap ready-to-wear clothes, came on the steamship together with those British ladies, and they found buyers initially among the Levantine women. When Ottoman women began to speak French, they established direct contact with European visitors and accepted them in their homes. Since English was not widely known in the Ottoman Empire, British and Ottoman ladies used French as a language of communication. Encounters of Ottoman and British women in the households allowed both sides to examine carefully each other's clothes at home. They touched each other's dresses and examined the elements which were new to them.[17] When the Ottoman ladies became better acquainted with European ladies, they did not hesitate to show their wardrobes to them, as noted by Mrs. Edmund Hornby, the wife of a British consular court judge in Istanbul, in May 1856:

> Robe after robe, carefully pinned up in muslin, was produced of every color and shade, for all the ladies ran to fetch their whole stock of finery. Dresses of light green edged with gold, and violet trimmed with silver, flowered dresses, embroidered dresses, shawls, scarfs and jackets were produced in endless array… (Hornby 1858: 340).

Julia Pardoe was one of the few who visited the sultan's harem. In 1835, she noted that Nezip Hanım, adopted daughter of Esma Hatun, sister of Sultan Mahmud II, was wearing European clothing:

> Her costume was an odd admixture of the European and Oriental. She wore trousers of pale blue cotton flowered with yellow; and an antery of

[17] For a detailed analysis foreign visitors' harem visits, see (Lewis 2004) and (Roberts 2007).

> light green striped with white and edged with a fringe of pink floss silk; while her jacket, which was the production of a Parisian dressmaker, was of dove-colored satin, thickly wadded, and furnished with a deep cape, and a pair of immense sleeves, fastened at the wrists with diamond studs. (Pardoe 1837: 179).

European newspapers and periodicals were also interested in informing their readers about changes in fashion ideas in the Ottoman palace, and their examination verifies the reliability of the information provided by Pardoe and other women travelers on imperial women's clothing. For example, in 1858, an anonymous correspondent for *Harper's Monthly Magazine* reported the wedding of Nezibe Sultan, daughter of Sultan Abdulmecid. The correspondent who assisted the bride at the nuptial fète wrote that "Turkish women were in all the colors of rainbow" and added that the bride was "covered with a rose-colored vail from head to foot" (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 1858).

Indeed, Ottoman borderlands opened an avenue for Ottoman and British people to exchange cultural values and items. In this period of increasing interchange, borderlanders and border-crossers enjoyed the privilege and benefits of embracing novel fashion ideas. Cosmopolitan districts in Ottoman borderlands, such as the *Grand Rue de Pera* (today's Istiklal Street) in the Beyoglu district of Istanbul, the *Rue Franc* (Frank Street) in Izmir, and the *Corniche* in Alexandria, had shops furnished with European-made goods, which were mostly run by non-Muslim merchants. A study of almanacs confirms the fact that fashion merchandising became exclusively a non-Muslim enterprise in Ottoman borderlands in the second half of the nineteenth century. For instance, according to the almanac of the year 1881, the majority of the clothing stores in Constantinople, listed under different categories such as *bijoutiers*, *couturiers*, *dessinateurs*, *modistes*, and *pelleteries*, were owned either by Europeans or by non-Muslim Ottomans living in the city (*L'Indicateur Ottoman* 1881). Travelers' accounts, diaries and memoirs are also valuable sources which give information about the owners of these shops, as well as cloths and fabrics sold, and provide a realistic conceptualization of exchange of fashions during that time. For example, Fanny Davis, in her memoirs, named non-Muslim shopkeepers located in Pera: the ateliers of Calivrusi, who was a Greek; Fegara and the Shaki sisters, who were Jewish; and the Demilville sisters, who were French (Davis 1986: 191).

In addition to almanacs, travelers' accounts and memoirs, newspapers of the nineteenth century are very useful sources in understanding the European influence in women's fashion in these cities. They reported the newest fashion by advertising shops and *magazins* selling ready-to-wear

clothes imported from European capitals. For example, on March 29, 1834, *Journal de Smyrne*, which was published in Izmir both in French and English, advertised Van Lennep, a Dutch merchant on the *Rue Franc* of Izmir, who was selling the finest imported fabrics from the Netherlands (*Journal de Smyrne* 1834). On May 7, 1881, *The Constantinople Messenger*, another bilingual newspaper appeared in Istanbul, advertised Joseph U. Streater & Co. on the Nerdiban Street near the Galata Tower, who brought the latest novelties from Paris and London (*The Constantinople Messenger* 1881). In short, the spread of the *lingua franca* press in major cities, such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Salonica, promoted the exchange of fashion ideas and Ottoman women's adoption of European clothing.

The interest in European fashion process accelerated with the emergence of women's magazines in the Ottoman Empire, especially with the launch of *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (The Ladies' Own Gazette) in 1895 (Frierson 2000).[18] In addition to the growing interest in women's magazines in the Turkish language, there were also many subscribers to European fashion magazines. Although Paris fashion was very popular at the turn of the twentieth century, elite women in Istanbul also followed the latest London fashions through English magazines such as *Weldons* and *Fashions for All* (Sevin 1973: 139).

Foreign dressmakers and tailors were resident in Istanbul in the first half of the nineteenth century onwards. Charles White mentions that the streets of Pera and Galata were filled with "Tailors from London," "Hatters and milliners from Paris," "Bootmakers from Vienna," and "Confectioners from Marseilles" (White 1845: 54). Some Turkish women, who were not satisfied with the imitation of European clothes in local markets, ordered their clothes directly from Paris. Walter Cotton, in 1836, wrote that the sister of the sultan ordered a large package of corsets from Paris (Cotton 1836: 70). In 1850-51, Paine pointed out the influence of European manners and customs and wrote that "many ladies are in the habit of

[18] *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (The Ladies' Own Gazette), which included 604 issues, was published between 1895 and 1906. It was a pioneering magazine devoted to education, fashion, embroidery, and social activities for women. The magazine also printed articles reporting on the lifestyle and fashions of European and Muslim women. It made a noticeable contribution to the discussion of women's role in the Ottoman public scene and reflected tastes, values, and demands of the Ottoman women during this period. For a thorough analysis of the women's press in the Ottoman Empire, see (Altınöz 2003). For a general bibliography of Ottoman and Turkish women's journals published since the 1850s to present, (Toska, Çakır, et al. 1993).

importing their wardrobes directly from the city of *modistes*" (Paine 1859: 28).

As I mentioned, British women travelers, as well as merchants, itinerant artists, diplomats, and mercenaries, had a tremendous effect on the introduction of European-style clothing to the Ottoman Empire. European clothing had acquired a vogue among imperial class and upper-class society since the early decades of the eighteenth century and became widespread by the end of the nineteenth century. More and more women wore European dress, although traditional dress continued to be in use along with the new ones. The position of Ottoman women throughout the nineteenth century is particularly interesting, since for them it was not easy to appear in public as their European counterparts did. Ottoman women's costume was less affected by the clothing reforms of Mahmud II as a part of his westernizing policy because of their circumscribed role in Ottoman society (Scarce 1980: 145). However, during the second half of the nineteenth century, European fashion, to a certain extent, became an outlet for Ottoman women to reorganize their restricted role in the public sphere. Ottoman elite women and townswomen became willing to consume foreign goods in this period (Faroqhi 2000: 31). European costumes, together with comestibles, furniture, and other household items, were among the goods that Ottoman women consumed, since such consumption defined social identity and rank (Quataert 2000: 1).

Nevertheless, it is important to reiterate that Ottoman urbanite women always stayed attached to their traditional values and never completely left their original clothing, even though they had the growing desire to accept certain elements of European fashion. For example, during the Crimean War (1853-1856), the soldiers of the Allied forces introduced the Malakoff style to Istanbul.[19] Ottoman women adopted the Malakoff style but preserved their Eastern character with embroideries (Şeni 1995: 29). Their attitude towards mixing European and Eastern fashions did not change even during the purportedly despotic regime of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1842-1918 [r.1876-1909]). During this period, in the 1870s, the *çarşaf*, a baggy black veil, emerged as a new type of dress, which was much closer to Eastern type of clothing (Özer 2006: 339).[20] It was especially worn by

[19] The Malakoff style was the tunic and skirts with bustles and had taken its name from the famous battle during the Crimean War.

[20] According to Davis, the *çarşaf* came from from Syria to Istanbul in 1871 (Davis 1986: 198). Sevin, on the other
hand claims that it came to Istanbul in 1892. He also suggests that the women in Istanbul adopted the *çarşaf* to camouflage the shoulder pads of their European-style clothes. (Sevin 1973: 130).

the strait-laced women living in the religious neighborhoods and conservative environments. However, some argue that the *çarşaf*, in fact, did not completely represent the sanctimonious attitude of Muslim Ottoman women, but their ingenuity to conceal the wider sleeves of the *belle époque* and disguise their adoption of European clothing (Sevin 1973: 139-140). Although the *çarşaf* emerged as a new type of clothing, it was also adapted to European fashions, being shortened to become a skirt and cape; the cape was cut up, the fabric became thinner and varied in color (Şeni 1995: 31).

While the second half of the nineteenth century was particularly significant for the transition of women's fashions, encounters of Ottoman women with their British counterparts continued increasingly until the First World War. Port cities functioned as borderlands to facilitate the exchange of fashions, and the people living on the borderlands were exposed to the influence of new tastes more than any other individuals. The process of change did not end with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and continued with the clothing reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) after the formation of Turkish Republic.

Conclusions

This study has aimed to address a gap in our understanding of exchange of fashion between Ottoman and British women in the nineteenth century. The infiltration of European fashion in the period of so-called Westernization has been successfully enunciated by Micklewright, Scarce, Jirousek, and other historians. Although their studies give detailed information about Ottoman women's adoption of European fashion, they often attribute it to the increasing dependency of the Ottomans on Europe. They evaluate the transformation of fashion in the Ottoman Empire within the process of Westernization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In other words, the view that the adoption of European fashion by Ottoman women is an example of subordination to European values, and that change in women's fashion has to be linked to Western dominance in the Ottoman Empire, dominates the historiography. Moreover, they depict Ottoman women as passive and sheltered individuals, merely recipients of this process, and they ignore the impact of Ottoman women's fashion on reportedly dynamic and sophisticated European women. Although this impact was not as strong and visible as the effect that European fashion had on Ottoman women, it is not negligible. It is remarkable that at the same time when *şalvar* and *entari* became a fashion of high-society in Britain, it was simultaneously replaced by European dress among the elite

women in the Ottoman Empire. The same type of clothing that symbolized authenticity, showing-off, and wealth in Britain represented the old and traditional in Ottoman society. In both societies, new fashion ideas slowly percolated through society from the top down by the elites. The women of either side shared a common objective of displaying their wealth and changing social status, although European dress eventually became more pervasive among Ottoman women than the reverse. In other words, the exchange of costumes was a reciprocal, though uneven and asymmetrical process, which has to be considered in the context of unbalanced but bilateral political and economic relations between two societies.

The evidence shows that the exchange of fashions between Ottoman and British women is an excellent example of cross-cultural exchange between two reportedly distinct cultures, one located in the West and the other in the East. Ottoman port cities as borderlands fostered cultural exchange and interaction while promoting openness and tolerance. They gave women on both sides a chance to get "a taste of foreign culture" without abandoning their own cultural values. Therefore, cross-cultural exchange between Ottoman and British societies has to be conceived as a process of "consuming differences" rather than a "consuming frenzy," which took place not only at the *Grand Rue de Pera* in Istanbul, at the *Cordon* in Izmir, or at the *Corniche* in Alexandria, but also on the banks of the Mersey in Liverpool and Thames in London, as well as at coastal towns along the English Channel. In sum, contrary to widely held belief that adoption of European fashions by Ottoman women was an example of subordination to European values, this study enables us to reconstruct the change in women's dress, not as the wholesale imitation of a foreign culture, but as a borrowing and appropriation of selected elements into existing matrixes.

In this respect, this research confirms the ability of Oscar Martinez's "borderland model" to create a new understanding of the concurrent transformation of women's fashion both in the Ottoman Empire and in Britain in the nineteenth century and to go beyond the problematic Westernization approach overemphasized in previous studies. It enunciates the role of Ottoman port cities as borderlands and highlights the striking qualities possessed by their inhabitants, such as transparency, porosity, open-mindedness, tolerance, and flux, which facilitated cultural borrowing between Ottoman and British women and promoted a two-way relationship. To put it differently, this research suggests that the borderland model can help us to understand how Ottoman port cities functioned as a channel for cross-cultural interchange of goods, values, beliefs, and ideas between Ottoman and Britain peoples, thus accelerating the erosion of cultural and

social borders, even as those borders continued to serve as political divides. The borderland model is, therefore, a significant tool for countering the fallacy of the unilateral superimposition of Western technology, ideas, values, and cultures on the "uncivilized" East. The borderland model is a useful framework to analyze cross-cultural interactions in a non-state and trans-state context. It provides us a transnational and transboundary perspective to understand the relationship between two geographically distinct societies which are connected by common cultural space.

To recapitulate, starting from the eighteenth century, the cross-cultural interactions between Ottoman and British women was influential in the emergence of new fashion trends. Especially during the nineteenth century, with the emergence of new technologies and advancements of maritime transportation, this interchange accelerated and new fashions reached a larger audience. Though unequally, the exchange of women's fashions took place in both countries and this phenomenon can be better understood by examining it from a borderlands perspective. The Anglo-Ottoman exchange of women's costumes in Ottoman port cities, which I consider as borderlands of the Ottoman Empire, was only one facet of this interchange.

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FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE TURKISH REPUBLIC: OTTOMAN TURKISH WOMEN'S CLOTHING BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY

ANASTASIA FALIEROU

When Demetra Vaka returned to Istanbul in 1921 after an interval of a quarter of a century, she was surprised by the radical changes that had taken place in her hometown. The Istanbul of the Armistice period was nothing like the city she had left in 1894 to work at the Ottoman Consulate in New York. What most attracted her attention were not the urban or economic changes, but rather the liberty enjoyed by Ottoman Muslim women. She noted in her memoirs: "A Turkish woman with her face uncovered on the Bridge of Galata and a Turk seated beside her - and only a few years ago this same man would not have even looked in the direction of his wife in public. A little farther on I had a still worse shock: a Turkish woman was leaning against the railing of the bridge, talking openly with a man who wore a fez. And she was young, and something in their attitude hinted that they might not be married to each other" (Vaka 2001:7).

Born on the island of Büyükada in 1877, Demetra Vaka grew up in traditional Ottoman society, which promoted the seclusion of women, the segregation of the sexes on public transport, and the prohibition of conversation between a man and any unknown woman; as such, she had difficulty accepting this newly discovered liberation of morality. She thought she had disembarked in a "Turkey which was changed, which puzzled and amazed" her (Vaka 2001:7).

It is interesting, however, to remark that in her description, Vaka notes as the foremost indication of this major social change the abolition of the veil. The question of dress seems to mark the distinction between past and present, between tradition and modernity. It is therefore evident that clothing and its variations are undoubtedly a topic of great interest in tracing the social and cultural transformation of society.

This study will focus on an analysis of styles of dress for Ottoman Turkish women in Istanbul from the nineteenth century to the early years

of the Turkish Republic. In other words, it is to describe the transition from traditional clothing to modern clothing while explaining the factors that influenced this transition. Taking as its starting point the idea that fashions do not arise on their own but are the result of broader changes, e.g. urban, economic, social, cultural, I will try to demonstrate that women's clothing changed in parallel relation to the degree of emancipation and therefore, of women's visibility in the public sphere.

With the Tanzimat, the Ottoman Empire embarked on a program of varied reforms to modernize along European lines. The impact of these reforms was not limited only to the public realm but also affected the private sphere of the Ottomans who were then starting to emulate Western lifestyles. In the second half of the nineteenth century the importation of Western goods reached extraordinary levels: clothing, furniture, cosmetics and decorations made their ways into the living rooms and wardrobes of the Ottoman elite. Beyoğlu became the Westernized district of the capital and the center of the modernization of lifestyles. Restaurants, cafes and nightclubs as well as department stores like Le Bon Marche, Karlman and Madame Vapillon, which supplied elegant women and the fashion shops, were all concentrated in Beyoğlu. Non-Muslim communities and a substantial number of Levantines staying in the "City" become agents of modernization. Enjoying fairly close contact with Europe and the Western way of life, they were the ones who would launch the new styles in the capital.

The adoption of European style was reflected particularly in ways of dressing. It seems that two different styles coexisted in Istanbul: the first was the traditional style *alaturka*; the second European or *alafranga*. Muslim women dressed differently inside and outside the home. Muslim women's indoor dress consisted of leggings (*şalvar*) made, according to fashion and social class, of velvet, embroidered satin, wool or cloth. Above the waist they wore a white blouse (*gömlek*) of cotton or, for the wealthy, of fine silk cloth, with long sleeves reaching to the ankles. The blouse could be worn buttoned or open at the neck, exposing the chest, and was sometimes decorated along the sleeves or at the cuffs as well as at the center of the skirt part with gold or other colours. Over the shirt, Muslim women donned a fitted gilet (*yelek*) which descended to the hips and was buttoned in front by a series of small buttons, and sometimes decorated with a row of gold braid (Koçu 1967:125,215-216,242-243).

Another essential article of Muslim women's clothing was the *entari*. This was a long dress of printed cotton or fine linen, with three-quarter sleeves, and tied with a belt (*kemer* or *kuşak*) of satin, leather, embroidered cashmere, gilded silver or gold enriched with precious

stones. The *entari* was worn laced, buttoned or left open. The buttons on the *entari* of wealthy women were made of pearl or diamond. In general, the *entari* and gilet were vibrantly colored with ornaments of other colours (Koçu1967:102-103,152-153,160-161).

During the first half of the nineteenth century, women's indoor dress experienced remarkable change, much faster than in previous centuries. Leggings (*şalvar*) became ampler and the fabric of the blouse finer and more transparent. The *entari* was longer, its hem grazing the ground. The sleeves opened at the elbows and flared at the fingertips. At this time, new types of *entari*, the *üçetek* or *dörtetek*, appeared. This was a dress with three or four small openings at the waist. This model would evolve in the mid-nineteenth century to the *ikietek entari*, a dress slit on both sides and closed at the front. Over time, the *biretek entari* (dress with a skirt only) became popular.

Over this dress was worn the *hırka*, a wool cardigan. Besides the *hırka*, women wore other garments such as the *cepken*, a waist-length bolero jacket with long sleeves, or a *kaftan* (caftan), a kind of second *entari* often decorated with fur. The *kaftan* and *cepken* were made of delicate, light-colored silk, with cotton braids or floral prints, decorated with ribbons, sequins, gold braid and fine crocheted silk. (Koçu1967:51-52,129-130, Micklewright, Scarce: 66-69)

Ottoman women's traditional outdoor dress consisted of the *ferace* and *yaşmak* (yashmak). The *ferace* was a long robe with wide sleeves and covered the entire body from the shoulders to the feet while exposing the fingertips; it was fastened with a row of buttons. The part of the *ferace* which attracted the most attention was the collar (*yaka*): it ran the entire length of the garment, from the shoulders to the ground. Its length gave the impression of being a second separate part which served to complete the *ferace*. The collar was richly ornamented with lace, braids, pleats or ribbons, according to the fashion of the era. The colour and degree of ornamentation of the *ferace* indicated the social origin of its wearer. The upper classes preferred the *ferace* brightly colored, with decoration at times verging on the extravagant. Women of the lower orders, however, dressed without pretention, choosing monotone *ferace* in more conservative shades like black, blue and dark green. In general, the *ferace* was made of exquisite wool fabric but also of merino, Lahore shawl, cashmere, taffeta, satin, cloth, moire, brocade, Damascus silk, etc. The preferred material, however, was angora (*Engürü Sofu*) because it was resistant and its color did not fade easily, which allowed it to preserve its charm.

The *yaşmak* was of white muslin or very fine gauze, covering the woman's face. It consisted of two parts, top and bottom, which were tied

behind the head, leaving a gap at eye level. There were two different ways of tying the *yaşmak*: *kapalı* (closed) or *açık* (open). With the *kapalı yaşmak* the muslin was thick and covered the entire face except the eyes and eyebrows. In contrast, the fabric of the *açık yaşmak* was thin and semi-transparent, revealing a portion of the face and hair. As such, the first style could be considered as rather conservative, while the second, more modern.

In the early nineteenth century, when the first signs of Westernization in dress appeared, the neck of the *ferace* widened and acquired rich decoration. The *yaşmak* became more refined. Women's external appearance was complemented by the use of the parasol as a fashion accessory. (Pardoe, 1837: 110) (Figure 1)

The Tanzimat policy of Westernization pursued by Mahmud II undoubtedly contributed to the adoption of European fashion by Muslim women. By the mid-1830s, Western fashion seems to have already appeared in the Ottoman capital. The style of dress chosen by Esma Sultan, Mahmud II's sister, constituted "a strange mixture of European and Oriental." Esma Sultan wore blue cotton leggings with pale yellow flowers and a light green dress (*entari*) with white stripes and a fringe of pink silk thread. On top of the *entari*, she wore a European satin vest created by a Parisian tailor (Pardoe1837:179).

At the same time European fashion was also adopted by non-Muslim Ottoman women, especially Greek and Armenian (Pardoe, 1837: 52-53, 138). However, in contrast to non-Muslims, who were the first to be influenced by and to adopt new fashions in clothing, within the Muslim community Western fashion was adopted more slowly or partially, as in the case of the favourite of the imperial harem, who replaced the traditional *cepken* with a fringed jacket *alafranga*.

In the 1850s, most of the Muslim Turkish women encountered by European women wore traditional dress, made with fine fabric and tastefully embroidered. Thus, the Muslim women invited to the marriage of the Grand Vizier's son wore *entari* and leggings made of silk, brocade and cashmere, often decorated with gold embroidery (Walker 1884:151).



Figure 1.

During the same period, the fashion for mixed traditional-and-European clothing spread among the elites. This satisfied the desire of Muslim Turkish women to show off their sophistication while adhering to social norms. Mary Adelaide Walker, who earned her living by painting portraits of women, describes the "original, sometimes daring innovations" of Muslim women belonging to the upper class. Specifically, she cites cases of women who wore hybrid outfits which conformed to the style of a European dress from the waist up; below, it was combined with leggings and the traditional *entari*. A good example is the harem wife of a pasha who wore a gold-embroidered outfit composed of a skirt and loose leggings below and a French bodice above (Walker1884:12).

Unlike the *entari*, which still retained many of its traditional elements, the jackets worn by the palace *kalfas* resembled European jackets and for this reason were known as *avrupa*, i.e. Europe. Covering the hips and the open necks of the *entari*, these jackets were actually a kind of uniform

mandated by the sultan. A fashion for the *avrupa* spread rapidly outside the palace, a fact attested to by the large number of them preserved in the Sadberk Hanım Museum collection (Görünür 2010).

The influence of European fashion manifested itself firstly in the cut and the decoration of the *entari*. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the *entari* lent itself to a variety of European vogues. It permitted even the wearing of a corset, an article which made its first appearance in the wardrobes of the harem of Abdülmecid. As the Baroness of Fontmagne noted, "...all the dressmakers of Pera have been requisitioned.... For the first time they (the women of the imperial palace) will know the pleasure of being squeezed by whalebone (From Fontmagne 1902: 289-290, Görünür 2010:27). Despite these mutations, the *entari* maintained its oriental character through embroidery added by the Muslim women.

The adoption of European fashion by the Ottoman elite was often the cause of jealousy and rivalry among the women, who attributed great importance to their appearance. "The great ladies of this epoch carefully avoid wearing dresses similar to one another; each has sought out brand-new material, embroideries and other decorations." Leyla Saz, daughter of the imperial physician İsmail Paşa, for example tells us that her mother suffered a rather unpleasant incident when she met a lady wearing the same dress as she. (Saz 1999:264-265).

The Crimean War (1854-1856) would bring a breath of freedom for women, while provoking the ire of the religious. A *firman* issued November 5, 1859 required the use of a non-transparent *yaşmak* and a *ferace* of wool cloth unadorned by anything "useless and expensive." The fashion then was for the *Malakof* style, named after the eponymous 1855 battle, which featured a long dress belted at the hips and baggy in the legs through the use of crinoline (Koçu 1967:169-170,204).

The years 1860-1870 mark a turning point in the history of the Ottoman fashion. By the middle of the decade, European fashions had been adopted by both the imperial harem and by the women of the Muslim elite who wished to follow the palace's style of life. Two events seem to have played a major role in this adherence to the new fashion: first, the visit to the Sultan's mother by two princesses of the Egyptian Khedive dynasty; later, the French Empress Eugenie's sojourn at the Ottoman court.

The testimony of Emmeline Lott, housekeeper at the Imperial Palace, offers a fairly detailed description of the clothing of one of the two princesses.

> She was wearing a thick white moire – antique silk robe, with a long train, trimmed with handsome point Alencon lace, having rich ruches of tulle

> and pink artificial daisies around it. The body and the sleeves were also trimmed with silver ribbon and daisies. The bertha was composed of rich lace, ribbons and daisies. Her slender waist was encircled with a ceinture composed of sapphires and diamonds

This was completed with white satin socks, white shoes of satin embroidered with silk, pearls and gold thread and a satin-and-silk parasol. Over the dress, the princesses wore a veil of Brussels lace and a *ferace alaturka*. On their feet they wore yellow boots. Emmeline Lott also informs us that the Valide Sultan was quite anxious to know whether her own clothing was *alafranga* like that of the princesses. (Micklewright 1986:152-153)

If the Westernized appearance of the two princesses accelerated the pace of adoption of the new fashions in the palace, the Empress Eugenie's visit provoked a veritable revolution. Her dress and her hairstyles gradually diffused among the women of the harem, who tried to imitate the appearance of this *giaour* (unbeliever) who had seduced their Sultan Abdülaziz (Micklewright 1986:153-154).

Around 1870, traditional dress was definitely abandoned, at least by the affluent. The skirt replaced the *şalvar*, princesses and Ottoman noblewomen dressed with grace and elegance in the latest European fashions. In the Topkapı palace archives it is possible to follow the correspondence of harem women with tailors, dressmakers and milliners. It seems that the Ottoman princesses, having looked through the newspapers and such European periodicals as *La Saison*, *Penelope* or *l'Elégance Parisienne*, noted the models that interested them and wrote notes to the masters of fashion, giving instructions regarding the colour and style of the dress. (Tezcan 1988:45-51) In the same period, crinoline fell out of fashion to be replaced by the bustle or pouf, a sort of cushion attached to the body by a belt which swelled the hips (Şeni 1992:202).

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, the simple dress (*biretek entari*), very popular among young Muslims, evolved under the influence of European fashion. The *entari* became the "Trojan horse" bearing the garment that revolutionized Turkish women's dress: the corset (Şeni 1992: 193). By that time, the undergarment was the literal foundation of European women's fashion. A silhouette was impossible to acquire if the corset was not properly cut. The question of the corset was recurrent in the nineteenth century. More than just an undergarment, it became the instrument for shaping the female form. The *biretek entari*, therefore, was worn alongside and in competition with Western designs.

According to the testimony we have, it seems that European fashions were widely spread among the Muslim elites of the capital during the last

two decades of the nineteenth century. In her memoirs, Lady Anne Brassey, an Englishwoman who visited Istanbul in 1880, describes the way in which Madame Hilmeh Bey, Fuat Pasha's granddaughter, was dressed: she wore a French morning robe in blue cashmere prettily embroidered with crowns, strawberries and smooth crepe ruffles, with her hair dyed blond (it was naturally black), coiled and twisted according to the latest fashion (Micklewright 1987:155). Moreover, near the end of the century Mrs. Max Muller cites her own experience in the home of an Ottoman minister whose wife was dressed *alafranga*. European fashion and hairstyles were also adopted by the wife of Munir Pasha, the Minister of Protocol, whom Mrs. Max Muller visited in Yeşilköy (Görünür 2010:27).

Women's fashion experienced a new phase in the early 1890s: feminine appearance seemed to evolve at this time toward a simplification of lines and lost the artificial aspect that had previously deformed it. However, it was soon after that a new change arrived to disturb this harmony, and again forms intensified. The simplicity of the lines disappeared. This time it was the sleeves that moved to the forefront, swelling disproportionately at the shoulders, to reach their maximum amplitude in 1895 as leg-of-mutton sleeves. We can find examples of these models in the columns of women's periodicals such as *Hamınlar Mahsus Gazetesi* (Newspaper for Women).

The Westernization of clothing was not confined only to Muslim women's daily dress but also affected the styles of wedding dresses. The wedding of Abdulhamid II's daughter Naime Sultan in 1898 saw the Ottoman court's first-ever wedding gown in white (Görünür 2010:33).

However, the adoption of Western fashion by the elites did not result in its appropriation by all social classes or by women of all ages. A strict division of Muslim women into those modern and conservative seems far from realistic, since in many cases Muslim women wore European dress outside the house only to change, when once again at home, into traditional dress, the latter being more comfortable (Figure 2).

Sources reveal that at the turn of the twentieth century, young women preferred to dress *alafranga*, while older women, even if they belonged to families of high officials, preserved the traditional style of dress. A good example is that of the novelist Halide Edip and her grandmother. Belonging to two different generations, the women dressed very differently. Although Halide was young, her father bought her silk dresses made in England. Her grandmother, on the other hand, preserved a more traditional style of dress. She wore a transparent blouse on top of which she wore a large coffee-colored dress with a white muslin collar and rolled-up sleeves. A Persian shawl was wrapped around her waist. A white,



Figure 2.

light-weight chiffon printed with delicate Turkish embroidery covered her head (Edip1926:15). Traditional clothing was actually preserved, especially by the lower classes and by women of the provinces who were visiting the capital. Of course, there were also those who preferred traditional styles for religious reasons, such as the wives of judges or *hoca* (Micklewright 1986:158).

Muslim women's outerwear also changed. The economic crisis that hit the empire in 1875 and the absolutist regime of Abdulhamid that followed precipitated a hardening of morals. Traditionally, Muslim women went out in the *ferace* and the *yaşmak*. Upper-class women completed their outfits with a large variety of accessories such as fans, which were very much in vogue, and small white parasols. The parasol was actually much more than a mere accessory. Carrying a parasol was also a sign of social status, to the extent that it was unbecoming for a woman of high society to leave home without one. In addition, for young women the parasol had another purpose: it was an instrument of courtship. In a society founded on the separation of the sexes, the position in which women held their parasol could serve to inform their willingness or refusal to flirt with a suitor (Koçu 1967:217-218).

In the late nineteenth century, the *ferace* and the *yaşmak* gave way to the *çarşaf* (Koçu 1967:64-68). This was a piece of clothing, initially quite broad, which covered the entire body, and was also known as the *torba çarşaf* (sheet sack). The *çarşaf* was brought to Istanbul by Suphi Pasha's

family after his return from his governorship of the province of Syria. (Celal 1946:133). The word *çarşaf*, which also means "bed sheet" in Turkish, comes from the Persian *chadar* (night cover) which gave the word chador to Iranian. It consists of three parts: a sort of cape, folded at the waist and covering the upper body, a skirt, and a veil (*peçe*), which covers the face (Koçu 1967:189). The cape was attached to the skirt by stitching. Until the revolution of 1908, the veil remained black. (Figure 2) The choice of a *çarşaf* (as opposed to the *ferace*) was dictated by practical reasons: requiring less material and time to make, the *çarşaf* was more functional than the *ferace* (Frierson 1996:229). In addition, its wide form appeared in step with the fashion for puffed sleeves at that time dominant in Europe and adopted by Muslim women. In the Ottoman reality, the *çarşaf* actually played the same role as the cape that European women wore over their dresses (Toprak 1989:36).

In 1892, afraid for his life and fearing that its broad shape could be used to hide weapons, Abdulhamid II prohibited the wearing of the *çarşaf* in Yıldız Palace, forcing the women of the palace to once again don the *ferace*. The wearing of the *çarşaf* was also banned in the district of Beşiktaş, as it was the location residence of the sovereign (Şeni 1992:195). The *çarşaf*, an ungainly garment that remained with the lower and middle classes, was made of cotton, wool or silk materials such as taffeta, satin, alpaca, crepe de chine, etc.. The fabric chosen depended primarily on the economic resources of the consumer. Regarding colours, conservative women and the elderly preferred dark colours such as black, navy blue, purple or violet, while the youngest and most modern chose bright colours like light green, turquoise, azure blue, lilac or red orange (Koçu 1967:66).

During their visits to resorts, Muslim women wore as coats the *maşlah* or the *yeldirme*. The *maşlah* was a sort of light sleeveless coat made of silk or cotton and often decorated. The models of the best quality came from Aleppo, Damascus and Baghdad. Worn by noble women, the *maşlah* remained in fashion until the First World War. Women of the lower class actually preferred the *yeldirme*, which like the *maşlah* was a light, ample coat (Koçu 1967: 170-171, 241-242)

The Revolution of 1908 marked a break with the fashion of the Hamidian era and opened the way for vigorous Westernisation of dress. Such change, however, was not achieved without reaction. In the aftermath of the revolution, the veil became one of the most hotly debated issues. Many women were assaulted in the street by conservatives for not wearing a headscarf or for dressing in European fashion. Over time, the *torba çarşaf* assumed the lines of the body itself, enhancing the feminine silhouette. The cape gathered at the waist, and left the forearms bare,

which were in turn covered by long gloves. The skirt also changed: it was shortened to the ankle and fit the body. The veil was refined. Such a *çarşaf* came to be known as the "*Mesrutiyet çarşaf*" (*çarşaf* of the second constitutional period). (Figure 3) In addition, Muslim women were beginning to use canes or small handbags as complementary accessories. The Paris-heeled boots that rose to mid-calf gave way to pumps, which became popular after 1914. (Koçu 1967:134)

The Balkan wars, and especially the beginning of the Great War in 1914, accelerated the emancipation of Turkish women through its access to new forms of production, while giving her greater visibility. Many speeches called for women to offer help and assist men weakened by the war, despite the fact that women's traditional role was to stay beside their children and not to go running on the battlefield. The war was an opportunity for the transformation or diminution of the sexual division of labour. The ideal division between men as producers, earning a salary outside the household and nurturing women, assigned to unpaid household tasks, was abolished. In order to ensure the survival of their families, women left their homes and took over jobs from absent men, finding employment as secretaries, telephone operators and seamstresses. An immediate consequence of the First World War, the entrance of Muslim Turkish women in professional life seems to have had a radical impact on the transformation of women's attire. The change in women's clothing was also one of the objectives of the Society for the Defense of the Rights of Women (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan cemiyet*).

The transformation in clothing that occurred during the Second Constitutional Period was a prelude to sweeping changes that would occur during the Armistice. Although the presence of European troops was seen as humiliating and the influx of Russian immigrants (particularly women) was the source of many social problems, these phenomena also had positive consequences. In 1918, Istanbul began to experiment with new ways of life, to live at a European rhythm and acquire new habits. Russian immigrants, among others, launched a new hair style: called *alarus* (i.e., the Russian style) it was a short, neck-length bob, following the dominant model in Europe and the United States. The head was covered with a chiffon scarf, the *rusbaşı*. (Özer 2006:347) (Figure 4) The new style was praised by the press because it made women more look more beautiful and younger. There were its practical aspects, too: at a time when women were forced to work, short hair was easy to take care of and spared women time otherwise wasted in front of the mirror. Turkish ladies were encouraged to rid of themselves of the crazy curls and rebellious waves of the past and adapt to the "new spirit of modern womanhood."(Figure 5)



Figure 3.



Figure 4.

In addition, a new fashion for hair accessories took hold. As hair was cut short and simply, emphasis came by way of accessories: a series of combs of different colours beautifully decorated with flowers or animals. In some cases, the combs were decorated with diamonds.

During the period of the Armistice the *çarşaf* was shortened even more, finally transforming into the European woman's suit. The veil would disappear. With the shortening of the *çarşaf*, the foot gained greater visibility. Besides the many transformations of *çarşaf* models, between the years 1918 and 1923 there was a remarkably rapid transformation in cuts, shapes, qualities, fabrics and colour. Pleats and ruffles came into vogue, with light colours preferred. Short or long, narrow or broad, tunic skirts of various fabrics were also popular.

One characteristic of Armistice fashion was economy. In the post-war period the limited financial resources of the majority of the population prevented women from squandering astronomical sums of money on the purchase or making of clothes. Fashion periodicals presented readers with styles for every budget and suggested ways to save money, either by teaching women how to make their own clothes, or by proposing a kind of "recycling" of clothing, for example by creating new models of old clothing or accessories that were no longer fashionable. (*Süs, 1923 :21 :1)*

It was during this time that the use of accessories reached its apogee. Parasols, handkerchiefs, scarves and hats complemented the appearance of Turkish ladies while adding to their grace. It was widely believed that a woman who did not pay attention to her accessories forfeited much of her charm. Moreover, this multiplication of accessories is in line with the prevailing idea that due to the period's difficult financial circumstances, the evolution of fashion at the time was based largely on the use of small ornaments. As circumstances would not permit the purchase of new clothing, Turkish women were forced to devise other strategies to retain their elegance. Beyond accessories, there was also a rising interest in lingerie of good quality.

At the same time, thanks to the presence of White Russian immigrants, fur came into fashion among Turkish women. As an alternative for women who wanted to wear furs but could not afford them, the press of the time proposed the use of fur trimmings, small, inexpensive but elegant pieces of fur with which women could decorate their clothing by sewing them onto the collar or sleeves of their coats, their caps or their *çarşaf*. (Figure 6) The trimmings could also be placed in small pieces at the waist and skirts. (*Süs*, 1923, 17: 9)



صاچ موده‌لری

کچن نسخه‌مزده قادینلغك
اك قیمتلی بر خزینهٔ محاسنی
اولان صاچ موده‌لرندن بحث
ایتمش وبوکا عائد ایکی موده‌ل
درج ایتمش ایدك. بونسخه‌مز
ده‌ده صاچلره عائد درت موده‌ل
دها درج ایدیورز :

١ — صاچ، یاندن آیریلارق «اوندوله» ایدلمش ، اوك طرفی یوکسك ویانلری برآز دها ملاصق برطرزده وسیوری بر شکلده تابارتیلدقدن صوکره آلنك اورته یرنه دوغری طراق ایله چکیلمشدر .

٢ — صاچ «اون دوله» ایدیلوب بوتون آلتندن طوپلانه‌رق یوقاری‌یه دوغری قالدیرلمش وه اون دوله‌لر طبیعی صورتده آلین آچیق اولمق شرطیله ایندیرلمش وصاچلرك آلتندن و آلنك اوستندن سیاه برقورده‌لا ایله چرچیوه‌له‌نمشدر.

٣ — صاچ ، یاندن آیرلمش وصول طرفی قیصه کسیله‌رك قیورلمش ، صاغ طرفی ایسه اوکده صاچ پومادلانمش، بوقله حالنه کتیرلمش ویان طرفی قیورلمشدر .

٤ — صاچ ، غایت ساده برطرزده کنیش «اون دوله‌لر» ایله آلنك اوزرینه «باندو» حالنده کتیرلمش وآرقه صاچلری کاملاً ایچری‌یه طوپلانمشدر.

Figure 5..

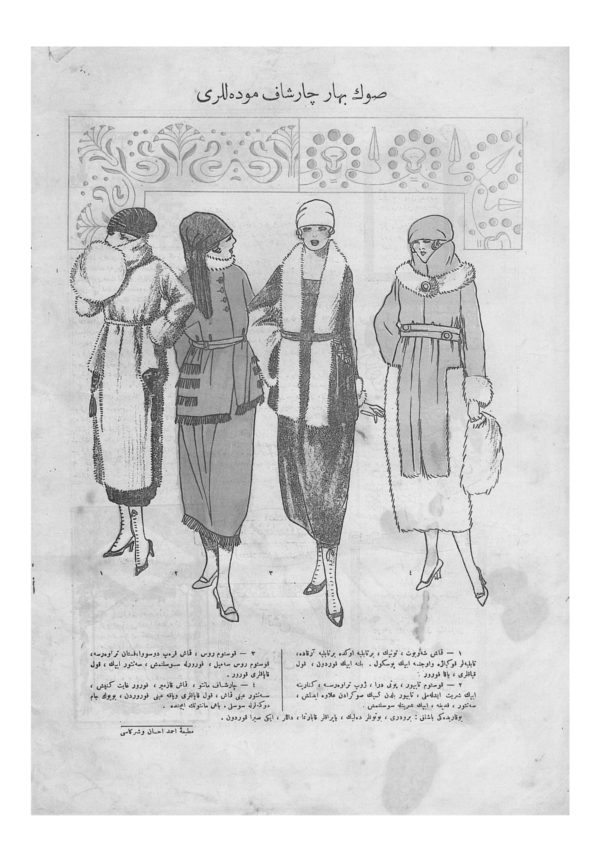


Figure 6.

Another novelty of the Armistice years was the appearance of the swimsuit. The emergence of new public spaces such as beaches created a need for appropriate clothing. Swimsuits were made of taffeta, jersey and terrycloth. The colours then in vogue were iron red, dark green, sea blue or mordant yellow. In addition, ornaments in black, dark gray or white could be added to the fabrics, always in accordance with the colour of swimsuit. (*Süs*,1923:5:9)

The Occupation period also saw the emergence of trousers and pyjamas for women. Originally worn by men, pyjamas began at that time to serve as part of women's wardrobes. They featured rich decoration consisting of ruffles, embroidery, pleats and lace. According to the standards of the time, pyjamas best suited women who were thin, tall, or long-legged. (*Süs* 1923:12:.1) (Figure 7)


موده

Figure 7.

Pink or champagne-colored socks and high heels became fashionable. The most fashionable shoes were those made of snakeskin and could also include rich decoration of painted motifs or glued fabric.

To conclude, the Woman Question provides a key for reading Ottoman society in a clearer way, because after the Revolution of 1908 the idea of modern society was closely identified with that of the modernity of woman. From the late nineteenth century to the Republic, the diffusion of fashion no longer privileged only the wealthy but encompassed the middle class as well, before being imposed on the lower class by the Kemalist regime. With the war female figures came to the forefront. Women were no longer passive beings but rather active social agents who contributed to the prosperity of the country. Their entry into the professional sphere was the main reason for the transformation of women's fashion. Fashion adapted to daily necessities; new clothes had to be

practical and easy to wear, and allow women liberty of movement. The introduction of short hair and pyjamas, however, went further, taking one step closer to an ideal of uniformity between the sexes by way of masculinisation of female dress. It also marked the passage of a multicultural empire to a nation state. This process of change found eloquent illustration in the old Turkish proverb, that "When Turkish women uncover their faces and wear trousers, the power of the Ottomans will be broken" (Vaka 2001:10).

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CHAPTER III:

FASHION AND MODERNITY

DRESS, MODERNITY AND THEORIES OF BIOLOGICAL EVOLUTION IN 19TH CENTURY GREECE

ARTEMIS YAGOU

Introduction

The processes of imitation and adaptation are central to our understanding of creativity. Human cultures evolve through a continuous exchange of ideas, beliefs, habits, and forms. Dressing habits in particular constitute a fertile field where this exchange takes place. The rise of a "Western" society in Greece in the 19th century provides an example of such interplay between different ideas. Greece, following its independence from Ottoman rule in 1830, entered a period of transformation from a pre-capitalist rural society to a modern one. The process was slow, wrought with difficulties, and often painful, as contemporaneous literature shows. Literature production of the end of the 19th century captures the tensions generated by the imposition of a modern value system on traditional forms of social organization. (Gotsi 2004) Despite the ruptures generated by the new social conditions, the reception of urban culture in Greece and the local reactions to modernization are phenomena which have enjoyed very little attention so far. (Gotsi 2004: 371) Researching and understanding these phenomena certainly requires the application of multifaceted and interdisciplinary approaches. This paper contributes to this process by examining certain aspects of the emergence of fashion in 19th century urban life. Following Breward, in the present text "fashion is taken to mean clothing designed primarily for its expressive and decorative qualities, related closely to the current short-term dictates of the market" and also "the cultural and social significance of fashionable clothing and its representation is prioritized." (Breward 1995: 5) This paper explores the connection between evolutionary theories and the fashion phenomenon in Greece during the 19th century, a period in which dress constituted one of the main and most visible fields of modernization in the country.

“Frankish” clothes and modernization

The gradual disintegration of a traditional society and the rise of urbanization brought about a range of dire consequences, including poverty, delinquency, and disruption of social order. The emergence of the fashion phenomenon was one of the least violent manifestations of this transformational process, but quite controversial nonetheless. Fashion became an issue as European (or Europeanized) dress started replacing traditional costumes in urban centres, especially the capital Athens. (Fig. 1) Already before the 19th century, novel artifacts produced in the West had been infiltrating Greek communities through various trade routes. Furniture, clocks, mirrors, and other items of domestic equipment had become familiar and had created new aesthetic standards and ways of life. Some of the tradesmen who had traveled to the West were among the first to wear “Frankish” clothes. “Frankish” clothes became gradually widespread and symbolized the participation in urban modernity and the rejection of a traditional, rural past. (Dimaras 1977: 34-36) (Politis 1998a: 118-124)

Following the assassination in 1830 of Ioannis Capodistrias, the first governor of the modern Greek State, the Bavarian Othon (Otto) was appointed as King. In his attempt to reach out to the people and capture the heartbeat of the country, Othon frequently dressed in the Greek national attire, the foustanella, the traditional kilt for men. At the same time, his wife, Queen Amalia, along with her entourage, created a romantic part-Greek part-Viennese outfit which was named after her. The Amalia dress exercised a decisive influence on female urban dress ensembles in Greece as well as in the Greek diaspora of the Ottoman-occupied urban centers. (Fotopoulos 1999) Despite these influences, the romanticized and idealized views of the royal couple were in many cases contradictory to the public feeling regarding dress. With the founding of the modern State, Greek society was turning its attention to Western Europe and imports of European clothing to Greece increased greatly. Greek traditional costume, belonging to an age in when the structure of society was relatively stable, was now exposed to a multitude of foreign influences generated by a variety of factors: the mobility of Greek merchants and the existence of Greek communities in foreign urban centres, where they copied what was in vogue and passed it on; the behavior of the Court which provided models of urban attire; and after the middle of the century the increasing use of the sewing-machine, as well as the emergence of women’s and family periodicals that spread the new European fashions. (Papantoniou



Figure 1.

1999: 47-52) (Yiakoumaki-Moraiti 1999: 470-493) (Roupa 2002: 137-166) (*Dress Through Time – 4000 Years of Greek Dress*, no date)

The word *μόδα* (mode, fashion) had appeared since the end of the 18th century, to describe the new reality. (Dimaras 1977: 35) The adoption of an urban way of life was however neither automatic nor complete, thus leading to anxiety and fear. Greek literature of the period vividly reflects the reactions to the transformations of the Greek 19th century society. (Gotsi 2004: 215 and 373) Foreign travelers recorded the messy mix of a society in the making:

> "Greece […] is the country of contrasts. There is no better image of the state of Greece than the spectacle of Athenian streets. Near a Turkish stall, […] one encounters a shop of Parisian fashion, or a French-style coffee shop with a mahogany billiard. Here a group of Maltesers, […] over there young guys with white kilts […] whereas other Greeks, dressed in European clothes, finish off a bottle of beer while smoking cigarettes and discussing in French the Parisian newspapers. […] Greece looks like a furnace where the ingredients of a new society are being brewed. It will perhaps take a century before the amalgam of all these different elements

fades out, before a perfect harmony becomes established among them." (Lenormant, quoted in Gotsi 2004: 210)

Fashion changes reflect more than anything else the fluidity of the social environment, where urbanization and modernization set the tone. In this context, individual, class and national identities come into question and may be negotiated through fashion choices.

In Greece as in Europe, the growing commodification of fashionable trends and interests, emphasized the wordly and the cosmopolitan. The emergence and elaboration of fashion concerns in 19th century Greece constitutes a purely urban phenomenon. As Breward observes, the symbolic fashionable body has been associated most closely with the growing importance of the city as a focus of social interaction and display and a sense of cosmopolitanism. (Breward 1995: 146-147) A coloured lithograph of an Athenian landscape illustrates beautifully this new urban world, in which fashion played an important role. The image shows in the foreground the "Greek Hat-Factory of H. Poulopoulos", with Acropolis and the Parliament in the far left, the Observatory in the centre back, and the port of Piraeus in the far right. The imposing factory building and especially its smoking chimney with the date inscription "1896" convey a dynamic message of energy, productivity and modernity. This message is complemented by other elements of the image, such as the train, but also by representations of contemporary fashion. The lower part of the image is in fact a popular urban promenade in front of the factory building, where several people in "Frankish" clothes are portrayed, with the only exception on the back right of a family dressed in traditional costumes. In this illustration, the new prevails over the old.

The contradictions engendered by the clash between the new and the old may also be illustrated by the Greek participation in the Great Exhibition of 1851 that took place in London. This exhibition was a major event of global character that exemplified the new industrial and consumer society. The Greek participation, although modest, was indicative of the efforts to organize the country according to European standards and compete on the international arena. (Yagou 2003: 82-90) Most exhibits in the Greek section were raw products and the only Greek exhibits that could be regarded as mass-produced objects were embroidered costumes for men. Although dress habits in the country were at the time undergoing a massive transformation in favor of Europeanization, it is significant that the most distinguished product representing Greece was a traditional male costume. [Fig. 6] The Greek organizing committee selected this item which highlighted the Greek spirit and individuality, a peculiar choice given the overall strategy of presenting Greece as a modernized State

following international standards. However, the choice appears less controversial if we take into account the need to preserve a certain national character in the face of sweeping Europeanization, as well as the insecurities resulting from this process. As Edensor notes, although design is in many cases a badge of becoming "modern", "traditional" clothing is also nationally emblematic and fosters a sense of historical identity. (Edensor 2002: 109)

Connecting fashion with theories of biological evolution

Fashion is closely related to debates on identity, the body, gender and appearance. Breward stresses in particular the "continuing power of clothing to create identity, status and a sense of distinction from the crowd." (Breward 1995: 131) Middle- and upper-middle class groups employed practices of conspicuous consumption, as new strategies for amassing symbolic capital. (Bada-Tsomokou 1993: 25) The cultural gap generated by the new habits often reached extremes which became the object of satire or derision. In the beginning of the 19th century there was an increasing number of texts stigmatizing behavior that followed "Western" standards, including fashion trends. People following the new fashions were being accused of blind imitation, a behavior that was compared to that of an ape. Biology thus comes into the picture. The interplay between emerging evolutionary theories and novel dress codes provides a fertile field for the study of a changing society and of the ways in which changes were expressed through design. The process of modernization of Greek society in the 19th century runs in parallel with fundamental scientific developments in the Western world, especially in the field of biology. The dissemination of evolutionary theories and particularly Darwinism in Greece was slow, as they constituted foreign ideological trends and were distant to the local debates that dominated the 19th century, such as "the continuity of the Greek nation" and the "language issue". (Gallant 2001: 67-74) (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 227-235) (Politis 1998a) Despite their marginal character, evolutionary scientific developments gradually infiltrated Greek society and influenced the perceptions of intellectuals as well as of the wider public about the human body and the connection of human organisms to other animal beings.

The work of pre-Darwinian evolutionists and the formulation of the evolutionary theory of the organic species by Lamarck in 1809 may have reached enlightened members of the Greek public. Certain evolutionary ideas, especially the idea of the ladder of species, must have been familiar

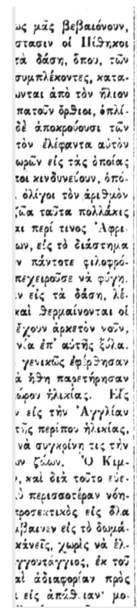
among Greek intellectuals of the 19th century.[1] The emergence of evolutionary ideas informs the increasing interest of the public in the natural world. The scientific study of the natural world attracts the curious minds and generates observations full of awe: “Cut a leaf from any tree and observe it under a microscope. What a multitude of insects is it possible to find living on it! A multitude of insects, also having variable mechanisms, variable senses and morals.” Such observations prompt a re-evaluation of the privileged position of human beings in the world and suggest a more balanced or relativist relationship between the various species. (Samouil 1996: 27-28) The writer Soutsos exclaims in 1834: “How infinite, how multifarious nature is! […] and we, inconspicuous beings thrown into infinity, we dare to boast about our thrones, about our dynasties.” (Samouil 1996: 27-28) Periodicals of the day publish numerous articles on the flora and fauna, revealing the intense interest of the public in the natural world. From 1839 till 1842, four articles are published specifically on the issue of the physiology and the habits of apes, and in 1848 two more with a similar subject. (Vagenas 1995: 7-36) (Fig. 2) All of these articles emphasize the mimetic nature of the apes, and the authors report various incidents involving different kinds of apes imitating human behaviour. An article describes the orangutan in the following manner:

> “I saw this animal offering its hand to greet its visitors, walking seriously with them as a companion, sitting at a table, unwrapping the serviette, wiping its lips with it, using the spoon and fork to bring food to the mouth, pouring its drink into the glass, proposing a toast to someone else, bringing on its own to the table everything necessary for making tea, preparing tea on its own, adding sugar and letting the tea cool a little bit before drinking; the animal was not harming anyone, it was actually approaching anyone with grace and was pleased by everybody’s care.” (The Orangutan or Troglodyte Ape 1848: 127)

Apes are described as cunning, harmful, but also very amusing. (The Ape 1839: 172-173) Another article is dedicated to chimpanzees and orangutans and their remarkable similarities with human are noted. Although illustrations accompanying the article underlined such similarities, the author exhibits a certain degree of cautiousness:

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[1] For example, an Italian translation of Erasmus Darwin’s Zoonomy is found in the library of the Greek scholar Theophilos Kairis (1784 – 1853). (Krimbas 1993b: 109-110)



ως μᾶς βεβαιόνουν,
στασιν οἱ Πίθηκοι
τὰ δάση, ὅπου, τῶν
συμπλέκοντες, κατα-
ωνται ἀπὸ τὸν ἥλιον
πατοῦν ὄρθιοι, ὁπλί-
δὲ ἀποκρούουσι τῶν
τὸν ἐλέφαντα αὐτὸν
ωρῶν εἰς τὰς ὁποίας
τοι κινδυνεύουν, ὁπό-
ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν
ζῶα ταῦτα πολλάκις
κι περί τινος Ἀφρι-
ων, εἰς τὸ διάστημα
ν πάντοτε φιλοφρό-
πεχειροῦσε νὰ φύγῃ.
ν εἰς τὰ δάση, λέ-
καὶ θερμαίνονται οἱ
ἔχουν ἀρκετὸν νοῦν,
νια ἐπ' αὐτῆς ξύλα.
γενικῶς ἐφέρθησαν
ὰ ἤθη παρετήρησαν
ώρου ἡλικίας. Εἷς
ν εἰς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν
τῆς περίπου ἡλικίας,
νὰ συγκρίνῃ τις τὴν
ων ζώων. Ὁ Κιμ-
, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐε-
ὺ περισσοτέραν νόη-
τροσεκτικὸς εἰς ὅλα
ιβαινεν εἰς τὸ δωμά-
κάνεις, χωρὶς νὰ ἐλ-
γγουτάγγιος, ἐκ τοῦ
αὶ ἀδιαφορίαν πρὸς
εἰς ἀπάθειαν· μο-

ν απομακρυνθῇ. Ὅτε δὲ τὸν ἐπανέστρεψη τὸ πινά-
κιον, ἐφρόντισε νὰ ἐμποδίσῃ τοῦ παιγνιδίου τὴν ἐπανά-
ληψιν, σταθερῶς κρατῶν αὐτὸ μὲ τὴν μίαν χεῖρα, ἐνῷ
ἔτρωγε μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης.



Ὁ Ὀραγγουτάγγιος, ἢ Πίθηκος Σάτυρος.

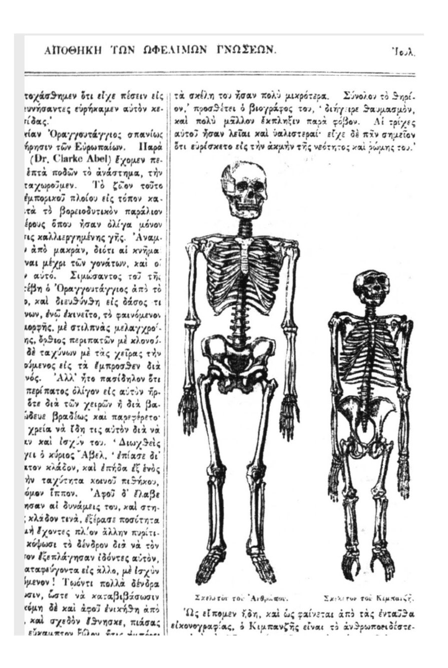
Ὁ Ὀραγγουτάγγιος, (Πίθηκος Σάτυρος), ὁ πλέον
διαβόητος ὅλων τῶν πιθήκων, εἶναι γέννημα τῶν πλέον

Figure 2.

> "As we have already said and as can be seen from the illustrations, the Chimpanzee is the most human of all animals; indeed, a substantial part of its organism is very much like the human organism; hence some people have claimed that humans and chimpanzees are members of the same zoological family. But precise investigations by younger anatomists have undeniably proved that, despite this likeness, there are also very substantial differences." (The Chimpanzee and the Orangutan 1840: 97-100)

An illustration of a human skeleton next to a chimpanzee skeleton is meant to demonstrate similarities but, especially, differences. (Fig. 3) In 1848, an article in a periodical published by the scholar Iakovos Pitzipios notes:

> "Of all the animals, only apes present a great similarity to human nature, because of their bodily construction, their movements and certain habits; there is actually one of the many kinds of apes that is different from the others and so similar to man that nearly justifies the idea of certain people who claimed that , if we consider all living creatures as standing one behind the other and thus forming the great chain of beings, the Orangutan



ΑΠΟΘΗΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΩΦΕΛΙΜΩΝ ΓΝΩΣΕΩΝ. Ἰουλ.

τοχάσθημεν ὅτι εἶχε πέσειν εἰς
ευνήσαντες εὑρήκαμεν αὐτὸν κε-
τίδας.'
κίαν Ὀραγγουτάγγιος σπανίως
ήρησιν τῶν Εὐρωπαίων. Παρὰ
(Dr. Clarke Abel) ἔχομεν πε-
ἑπτὰ ποδῶν τὸ ἀνάστημα, τὴν
ταχωροῦμεν. Τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο
ἐμπορικοῦ πλοίου εἰς τόπον κα-
τὰ τὸ βορειοδυτικὸν παράλιον
έρους ὅπου ἦσαν ὀλίγα μόνον
τις καλλιεργημένης γῆς. Ἀναμ-
ἀπὸ μακράν, διότι αἱ κνῆμαι
ναι μέχρι τῶν γονάτων, καὶ οἱ
αὐτό. Σιμώσαντος τοῦ τῆς
έβη ὁ Ὀραγγουτάγγιος ἀπὸ τὸ
ο, καὶ διευθύνθη εἰς δάσος τι
νων, ἐνῷ ἐκινεῖτο, τὸ φαινόμενον
ορφῆς, μὲ στιλπνὰς μελαγχροί-
ης, ὄρθιος περιπατῶν μὲ κλονού-
δὲ ταχύνων μὲ τὰς χεῖρας τὴν
ούμενος εἰς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν διὰ
νός. Ἀλλ' ἦτο πασίδηλον ὅτι
περίπατος ὀλίγον εἰς αὐτὸν ἦρ-
ὅτε διὰ τῶν χειρῶν ἢ διὰ βα-
ώδευε βραδέως καὶ παρεφέρετο·
χρεία νὰ ἴδῃ τις αὐτὸν διὰ νὰ
κν καὶ ἰσχύν του. 'Διωχθεὶς
γει ὁ κύριος Ἄβελ, 'ἐπίασε δι'
κτον κλάδον, καὶ ἐπήδα ἐξ ἑνὸς
ὴν ταχύτητα κοινοῦ πιθήκου,
όμον ἵππον. Ἀφοῦ δ' ἔλαβε
ησαν αἱ δυνάμεις του, καὶ στη-
κλάδον τινά, ἐξέρασε ποσότητα
ἔχοντες πλέον ἄλλην πυρίτι-
κόψωσι τὸ δένδρον διὰ νὰ τὸν
τον ἐξεπλάγησαν ἰδόντες αὐτόν,
αταφεύγοντα εἰς ἄλλο, μὲ ἰσχὺν
μενον! Τῷόντι πολλὰ δένδρα
σιν, ὥστε νὰ καταβιβάσωσιν
κόμη δὲ καὶ ἀφοῦ ἐνικήθη ἀπὸ
, καὶ σχεδὸν ἔθνησκε, πιάσας

τὰ σκέλη του ἦσαν πολὺ μικρότερα. Σύνολον τὸ θηρίον,' προσθέτει ὁ βιογράφος του, 'διήγειρε θαυμασμόν, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔκπληξιν παρὰ φόβον. Αἱ τρίχες αὐτοῦ ἦσαν λεῖαι καὶ ὑαλιστεραί· εἶχε δὲ πᾶν σημεῖον ὅτι εὑρίσκετο εἰς τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς νεότητος καὶ ῥώμης του.'

Σκελετὸν τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου. Σκελετὸν τοῦ Κιμπανζῆ.

Ὡς εἴπομεν ἤδη, καὶ ὡς φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὰς ἐνταῦθα εἰκονογραφίας, ὁ Κιμπανζῆς εἶναι τὸ ἀνθρωποειδέστε-

Figure 3.

> may be considered the link which connects man to the illogical animals." (The Orangutan or Troglodyte Ape 1848: 126)[2]

Again, the author makes sure to dispel any ideas of a true connection between humans and apes and thus discredit relevant theories:

> "Although the brain of the Orangutan has the shape and size of a human brain, as well as the tongue and voice instruments are identical with those of the human, however the Orangutan does not reflect, neither converses; and as far as the mind is concerned, one could say that its mental power is much lower than that of many other illogical animals; as far as the voice is concerned, it produces rare, punctuated and sharp voices, similar to the sound of a saw cutting dry wood. Hence one could say that, although nature has given human organs to this animal, it has refused to it the mind and the speech, and this example only suffices to confuse and destroy the silly idea of the philosophers who claim that the speech and our mental powers are a result of our material organism." (The Orangutan or Troglodyte Ape 1848: 127)

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[2] A number of different spellings have been used for the name of the author of *The Ape Xouth*. In this paper I use "Pitzipios".

This extract echoes pre-Darwinian evolutionary theories, connecting the human species with other members of the animal kingdom, and rejects them as nonsense.

The interest in evolutionary theories continued into the second half of the 19th century, especially after the publication of articles related to Darwinian evolution.[3] The publication of *The Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin in 1859 was a major contribution to science with important repercussions in most knowledge domains. However, Darwinian theories reached Greece with substantial delay. In May 1882, shortly after Darwin's death, the poem *Darwin* is published in a Greek philological journal, possibly as a memorial to him. (Zarimis 2007) The first articles in Greece explaining the evolutionary mechanism appear twenty-two years after the 1859 publication, in other words around the time of Darwin's death. Translations of articles or books by Darwin will follow even later. The first Greek translation of *The Origin of Species* in Greek by Nikos Kazantzakis will be published in 1915, whereas the second translation by A. Pangalos will appear in 1956.[4] (Krimbas 1993a: 101-102) Publications of Darwin's theories in Greece faced fierce opposition by priests and theologians as these views were considered to be extremely subversive and rocked the foundations of the religious establishment.[5] The concern of the

[3] In 1856, the book *Cosmosophy or Universal Socialism* was published in the Greek language (although printed in Brussels) and became known to a Greek readership. This book constituted a translation and adaptation to the Greek context of *La Cosmosophie or le Socialisme Universel*, published by Henri Lecouturier in Paris, in 1850). This publication is a relatively coherent mixture of various pre-Darwinian beliefs (such as the ladder of species, progressive evolution and certain racist views), in which special mention is made of the idea that the ape is the ancestor of man. (Krimbas 1993b)

[4] As Krimbas notes, the translation of 1915 comes much later than the respective publications in most European languages (Krimbas 1993a: 101-102). In literature, Darwinian influences appear in the word of Roidis (especially in the *Story of an Ape*), as well as in works by the poet Palamas and the writers Papadiamantis and Xenopoulos. (Georganta 2004) (Zarimis 2007)

[5] In Krimbas' views, the belated and poor reception of Darwinian theories in Greece reflects the limited local interest for the natural sciences, the restricted size of the indigenous bourgeoisie, as well as the practically non-existent scientific community at the time. Krimbas moves his criticism a bit further by observing the importance of foreign intermediaries in the production of scientific knowledge. Negative reactions to Darwinian theories in Greece can be traced well into the twenty-first century and have a direct effect on school and university curricula. As recent research claims, evolution is practically excluded from the curriculum, which means that the level of "biological literacy" required by a modern society is not achieved. (Prinou 2006: 24-25)

newly formed urban Greek society about biology and the body, the connection with apes and mimetic practices is characteristically reflected in language itself. The verb *ape* (*μαϊμουδίζω* or *πιθηκίζω*) became common in references to the modernized upper or middle classes. The Greek word for *aping* was used extensively to describe a state of blind imitation, as opposed to innovation or creative transformation of foreign influences. *Ψιττακίζω* (*to parrot*, to repeat without thinking) is another newly created word that connects imitation and lack of creativity to the animal kingdom. (Mavroskoufis 2003) The *Compilation of New Words* by Koumanoudis, recording new words created in the Greek language during the 19th century, includes sixteen words deriving from *ape* (*πίθηκος*), nine from *Darwin* (*Δαρβίνος*), eight from *parrot* (*ψιττακός*), as well as the new term *Lamarckism* (*Λαμαρκκισμός*). (Koumanoudis 1998)

An early example of reactions towards imitative, "aping" practices is the theatre play *The Clerk* (*O Ypallilos*) of 1836, by Miltiadis Hourmouzis. (Figure 4) An ape is the central figure in the *Story of an Ape (Istoria enos Pithikou)*, by Emmanuel Roidis, a short story whose first publication is unknown but was obviously published after 1859, as it makes a footnote reference to Darwin. The story emphasizes the human-like attributes of the ape, its intelligence, its feelings, and its imitation of human habits. The work which is most relevant to the present paper is *The Ape Xouth (O Pithikos Xouth)* of 1848, a novel by Iakovos Pitzipios making direct references to fashion as an aping practice. The novel was a new literary genre for the Greek language, resulting from imitating similar Western European works and being itself closely related to modernity and the mentality of the new urban lifestyles.[6] (Tziovas 1995), (Vagenas 1995) *The Ape Xouth* is the story of the transformation of a man into ape and then back to the human state. The main character in the novel is an ape named Xouth, who acts as a servant and as a relentless satirist of Athenian reality. (Vagenas 1995) Xouth's master is Kallistratos, a young man of humble origin, who manages to transform his social image and enter the Athenian high society. This transformation of Kallistratos is achieved

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[6] *The Ape Xouth* appeared initially in serial form in the periodical *Apothiki ton Ophelimon kai Terpnon Gnoseon*, published by Iakovos Pitzipios in Hermoupolis, on the Greek island of Syros. This text is considered to be one of the very first Greek novels and also the first one employing a surreal, imaginary element.The author subtitles his work "Unprecedented Writing", which shows that he was aware of the innovative character of his undertaking. Tziovas 1995: 9-86. Vagenas 1995: 7-36. As Politis notes, the attention that *The Ape Xouth* has recently received should be attributed to ideological or research motives rather than to its literary merit. (Politis 1998b)

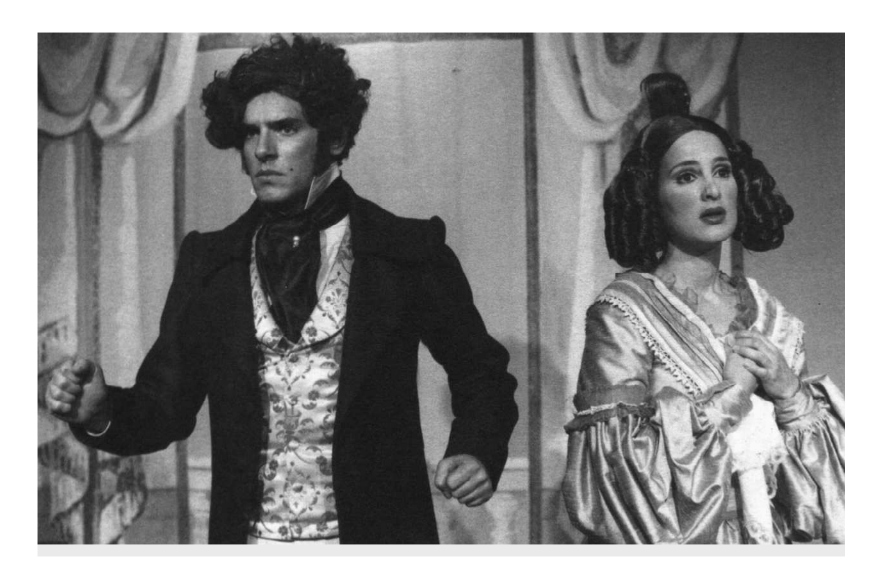


Figure 4.

primarily through fashion, as he is an ardent follower of European costume trends. He employs a range of specialists such as tailors, shoe-makers, barbers, perfume-makers and hat-makers, in order to enjoy state-of-the-art products and services. "[…] There was no custom or European fashion that Kallistratos would not imitate immediately". (Pitzipios 1995: 276) His xenomaniac passion extended to interior decoration, as his living-room contained French sofas with silk fabrics, American hammocks, English mirrors, Moroccan carpets, and in the middle a large round table of nice Italian marble of Carrara." (Pitzipios 1995: 276) Through the device of the metamorphosis of a human into an ape and the co-habitation with its human master, Pitzipios satirises the morals of his day, in particular the European idolatry of post-revolutionary Athens. (Tziovas 1995)

Xenomania, and the resulting violent incursion of European lifestyles and customs into Greece, were treated as a major problem of the Greek reality by contemporary commentators. Back in 1842, the author Palaiologos was already seriously concerned by the fact that "our Greece is Europeanized from head to toe!" In 1846, two years before Xouth was published, the writer Serouios was exasperated by the "thoughtless aping of Europeanization". In 1853, the term "hypereuropeanization" was coined, which was to be contrasted with "hyperhellenism", the overemphasis on the ideology of continuity between the ancient Greek civilisation and the modern one. (Vagenas 1995: 71) (Koumanoudis 1998: 1040) The

comparison with an imaginary and idealized antiquity was painful for the 19th century individual. Archaeolatry was however fruitless and clashed with the violent incursion of an indigested foreign culture. Exemplified by the novel's hero, Kallistratos, the fashionable capital city was identified with the cultural void established on sterile imitation of a social model imported from the West.[7] This theme of a city alienated by the blind imitation of foreign habits reappears in many literary works throughout the nineteenth century. The change of a woman's dress from the local, traditional one to the Europeanized symbolized this change in social status which is viewed as degradation and as a step to immorality by contemporaneous observers. (Gotsi 2004) There are also certain classical and medieval stereotypes of the ape which echo in Pitzipios' recasting of the animal. (O'Neill 2003) The figure of the ape itself is laden with negative connotations in the collective consciousness, long before the emergence of evolutionary theories. To Christians in the earlier middle ages, the ape was a symbol of the devil, signifying heresy and paganism. In the Gothic era, an ape with an apple in its mouth came to signify the fall of man. This image was used in another sense in the Renaissance as an attribute of taste, one of the five senses. Man recognised a distorted, baser image of himself in the ape, which became associated with vice and personified lust. (Clark and Hall, 1989)

In her essay on Greek 19th century novels, Polycandrioti examines *The Ape Xouth* by prioritizing the concept of disguise, of the body in metamorphosis. (Polycandrioti 2002) She traces this concept back to antiquity and popular culture, in ancient myths and children's tales. It is an archetypal concept that poses the fundamental ontological question of human dualism of body and mind. Xouth touches the issue of the contact with the "other", whether natural cultural. In particular, the realization of the biological proximity between humans and apes was embarrassing, if not terrifying. In the play, disguise and metamorphosis are treated as ways to challenge one's own identity in two different ways: In *Xouth*, a man has been changed into an ape, which is considered to be degradation of human nature. On the other hand, another man is deliberately disguising himself with European clothes, thus questioning not his nature but his identity. The latter attitude makes good sense in the context of the Greek 19th century, when the formation of the young state questioned many of the Greek people's assumptions on their identity. Local traditions, infiltrated with eastern as well as western influences during the Ottoman occupation, were confronted with a westernized modernity of a much greater intensity.

[7] Gotsi 2004: 115-117.

Pitzipios employed parody and stressed the satirical dimension in order to write about the Greeks who adopted western habits in an extreme manner that generated ridicule. In her own interpretation of the novel, O'Neill observes that the question of a specifically Modern Greek identity in relation to its classical past becomes a central concern of the novel. (O'Neill 2003) The main theme of metamorphosis expresses the oscillation between possible selves, a crisis in identity. The novel, through its open-ended form and the theme of metamorphosis, provides a useful context for the discussion of authenticity and the self.[8] In the case of Kallistratos, the ape's master, the metamorphosis is materialized through fashion. In *Xouth*, the author Pitzipios has made a good use of the ambiguities of human and animal nature and exploited them successfully to satirise his contemporary reality.[9] The apparent evolutionary connotations of *Xouth* were acknowledged and further explored in a recent dramatisation of the text that was adapted and staged in Athens in September 2005.[10] The theatrical adaptation includes Charles Darwin himself in the role of narrator as well as commentator of human nature and morals. In this production, a young theatre company finds the 160-year-old play still relevant in the beginning of the 21st century and chooses to "return" to it in order to explore issues of personal identity and authenticity.

Searching for identity, struggling for synthesis

Substantial fashion changes in the 19th century were not limited to countries of the periphery entering their modernization phase. As Breward notes in his study emphasizing fashion developments in western countries, "if there is one major theme amongst many which can be isolated as a focus around which a discussion of Victorian clothing can be situated, it is this problem or idea of 'modernity'." (Breward 1995: 146) He also observes that "nineteenth-century style change, whilst in part resulting from new technologies and a sense of the modern, was also the product of

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[8] O'Neill 2003: 69. See also Calotychos 2003: 37-38.

[9] There seem to be some striking similarities between *The Ape Xouth*, and Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, of 1833, a book which has been described as "the founding text for the emergence of the serious and organized study of clothing". Like *The Ape Xouth*, *Sartor Resartus* is a work of fiction which carries a satirical tone and where several voices are in play. It is considered a manifesto for authenticity, a plea for the outer "vestural tissue" to become the true embodiment of spiritual and social renewal.[9] (Carter 2003: 14)

[10] I would like to thank Elena Timplalexi, who made the dramaturgical adaptation and direction for this production, for providing me with material from the play.

shifting cultural and social attitudes regarding both the perception of acceptable forms of masculinity and femininity, and the nature and dissemination of fashionable taste.” During that period in the West, class-based fashion was becoming less important than it was in the previous century. (Breward 1995: 147) In the case of Greece however, I argue that fashion changes in the 19th century were particularly linked to questions of local (national) and class identity, rather than age, gender or sexuality. The turbulence caused by major social transformations resulted in heightened insecurity about one’s position in the world and this situation was naturally reflected in increased concern about definitions of national, class and individual identities. Negotiation of emerging identities was admittedly a complex issue. Metamorphosis or disguise of the individual through fashion was one of the means available for negotiating the new social context. Evolutionary theories provided a background against which social phenomena, including fashion, were discussed and analyzed. The pursuit of identity inevitably brings to the forth the connection between past and present. The author Psycharis, in his work *My Journey (To Taksidi Mou*) of 1888, attempts to reconcile the conception of modern Greek culture as a continuation of ancient Greek civilization with the need to create a sovereign and modern local culture that will be able to sustain a creative dialogue with imported cultures. Despite the attraction of the new modern self, late 19th century Greek mentality often equates the urban with the fake, the latter ranging from lack of genuineness and sterile imitation to immorality. (Gotsi 2004: 110 & 125) Greek society was shaken by the acquaintance with the cultural other, Europeans and other foreigners who dressed and behaved differently. In this context we may also consider the issue of autochtonous and eterochtonous Greeks, which troubled Greek society in the 19th century. (Politis 1998a: 24) (Gallant 2001: 39) Despite their biological and cultural proximity to indigenous Greeks, Greeks of the Diaspora (eterochtonous) constituted yet another version of “otherness”, which sparked fear and even aversion. Greeks of the Diaspora who returned to Greece were among the major agents of modernization and of course highly influential importers of novel fashion trends, which further emphasized their otherness.

In more general terms, the interaction between fashion and evolutionary theories in 19th century Greece reflected shifting ideas about the biological or cultural other or outsider. Emerging evolutionary theories deeply affected the meaning of authenticity, of the “true self”, and touched on the issue of cultural identity, which was already problematic and highly contested in the young, post-revolutionary Greek state. (Gallant 2001: 67-74) (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 227-235) Of course, culture and

cultural practices are not simply expressive of meanings and values, they are not simply derived from a social order that is already there, but they are major elements in constituting this social order. (Raymond Williams, quoted in Barnard 1996: 36) Greek "fashion victims" of the 19th century, may not be superficially seen as such, but may be considered as active participants in the emerging discourse of modernization. Through their choices in relation to dress and fashion, they were contributing to shaping their new individual and collective identity in a changing and unstable world. It is of particular interest that in Xouth the novel, the agent of modernization is a male personality, the young man Kallistratos. Despite the controversial character of the modernization process, the latter appears to be a very powerful social force and the choice of a male figure may reflect the dominant position of men in these transformations and in Greek society in general. This paper has delineated the complex relationship between evolutionary theories, imitation practices, and the fashion phenomenon in 19th century Greece. The analysis has shed light on the ways in which fashion issues were connected with concerns about the biological or cultural other, as well as with identity formation in a changing society. This area of study remains largely unexplored in Greece and further research would certainly contribute to the enrichment of our understanding of individual and collective identities in the modern world.

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INFLUENCE OF ETHNIC STYLE ON CROATION FASHION IN CLOTHING IN THE PERIOD OF ART NOUVEAU

KATARINA NINA SIMONČIČ

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century Croatia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1867-1918). Depending on historical circumstances and their dependence on specific centres of power, parts of Croatia at the beginning of the 20th century were under different influences from abroad. National awareness was rising, i.e. Croatian language gradually became the official language, Croatian plays were more and more a part of the repertoire at the National Theatre, and symbolic Croatian colours, representing the tricolour flag, became a part of the outfit (1848)–red, white and blue.

At the end of the 19th century Zagreb, which is the capital of Croatia, little by little started to grow as a regional economic centre, where industry and crafts had become important factors in growth and expansion of demography and the city itself.

Intensive connections between local merchants made it possible to keep up with trends in European fashion centres such as Paris, Vienna and Budapest. Aside from commerce, fashion press published in Zagreb at that period shows that citizens have been primarily interested in two fashion centres: Vienna and Paris.

However, general atmosphere at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was marked by Art Nouveau, an artistic style that had also left a significant mark on clothing items. Clothing spirit of the style was nurtured by the culture of living and daily rituals that mostly took place in the following Zagreb locations: city cafe, the dance podium, the promenade and the theatre, i.e. places where young women, ready to be married, have been presented, as well as wives who have been turned into their husbands' status symbols. For such a purpose fashion was a powerful tool. In addition to Viennese and Parisian fashion worn in the streets of

Croatia at that time, Croatian fashion was also manufactured in Zagreb. Such items included fabrics of a specific design and motifs, inspired by the traditional Croatian heritage and have been produced in the Industry of Salamon Berger.

As source, this research mostly uses photographs from the turn of the 20th century, fashion newspapers of that period, archive records, correspondence, preserved fashion objects, drawings and fashion illustrations. The catalogue from the exhibition Art Nouveau in Croatia, which was organised by the Museum for Arts and Crafts in 2004 has been of great help as well. This exhibition clearly presented stylistic characteristics of Art Nouveau in art, literature and music, while Croatian fashion was represented only in its small part. However, the most useful sources have been the materials from the Ethnographic Museum (which holds information on the industry of Salamon Berger), Zagreb Municipal Museum (which has a rich collection of photographs and fashion clothing items), as well as from Croatian History Museum and Museum for Arts and Crafts.

Fashion information is distributed through magazines, daily press and direct contact with abroad. Fashion press of the time provides a clear insight into fashion and fashion products with ethnic elements. Fashion magazine **"Parižka moda" (Parisian fashion),** was the only fashion magazine published since 1895 in the Croatian language. On almost each cover of this magazine there was an article with descriptions of current models, accompanied with quality and precise drawings and descriptions of latest creations and sewing patterns. The magazine also included an advertisement section with numerous ads from local craftsmen – seamstresses, modists, hatmakers, shoemakers, hairdressers and specialised merchants.

At the same time, Austrian fashion magazines were also available in Croatia and **Wiener mode** was the most popular one. The magazine **Domaće ognjište (Domestic fireplace)** included a number of translated texts from Parisian and Viennese fashion magazines, and it strongly advocated a synthesis of fashion and ethnic elements.

Art Nouveau Fashion in Croatia-Zagreb

Fashion at the turn of the 20th ct in Zagreb was marked with gradual liberation of the body when rigid corsets were abandoned. The style of art nouveau in Paris was fascinated with oriental and exotic fabrics, which became fashionable after performances of Diaghileff's Russian ballet.

The predominant style in Zagreb at the turn of the century was in agreement with historicism, but with elements of art nouveau recognisable in the following: pleats, lace ruffles, patches, embroidery, and floral, feather or beaded decoration. Ornaments are usually in vegetative or abstract patterns and are applied on all parts of a garment, including accessories (fans, parasols). The line of the body is reminiscent of the *letter S*. Visual harmony of a woman's silhouette is broken by huge hats abundantly adorned with feathers, flowers and ribbons. These hats were attached to ones hair with hair pins and were frequently made fun of in caricatures and humorous texts of that time. In such a manner Antun Gustav Matoš, a Croatian poet, describes hats he observed during a play in Maksimir park,

> “That monster with feathers like in a birds museum covers half the forest, half the stage and half of the ballet (…), that roof, wide as the equator on the globe and over embellished like steak with salads, covered not only the head but also the Maksimir stage and Shakespeare! Down with that basket, that umbrella, that roof! (…) Down with the hats!” (Ivoš 2003:170-178)

It was not unusual to see stuffed birds as ornaments hats, which subsequently resulted in such a change that in 1899 a journalist in “Parižka moda” speaks to the female readers, “*stop using the poor sparrows as decoration on your hats... the sparrows have disappeared from Zagreb... fashion has killed them all*”. However, glamorous and rich fashion as one could have seen in the streets of Paris was more modest in Croatia. In 1902 an unknown lady from Paris came to visit Zagreb and the press of that time reported on her with such interest, describing her outfit as something that could not be seen in the streets of Zagreb very often.

In the time of art nouveau social environment had an influence on dressmaking with an obvious intent to make things simpler and more practical, and that is when the **Reform-dress** was created. This dress was freed of all redundant ornaments as well as of the corset. Stylistically speaking, we notice that such an attire has linear, ornamental or stylised characteristics and nurtures oriental and decorative styles. This reformed dress was first presented in the Croatian fashion press in 1901. In the following years each issue of a magazine had at least one or two suggestions for such a dress of simple lines and with art nouveau applications. However, at that time this was still quite a radical change in fashion for our environment. The reform-dress liberates the woman’s body of the corset, which had not been accepted with open arms because the corset was still perceived as a tool that helps the women to become more feminine and was identified as an ideal of beauty.

At that time Zagreb was actually one of the regions situated at the outer boundary of the European cultural circle and therefore produced, both in arts and in the fashion industry, objects that had stylistic characteristics of bigger centres but marked with strong local elements. Croatian art historian Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971), by using the criterion of how they reinterpreted foreign influences, had divided the Croatian art into several different environments: *provincial*, *bordering* and *peripheral.* While the first one tries to copy the bigger centres, the second one creates hybrid forms of the two bordering centres, and the *peripheral* takes influences from more than one sides, adopts them and processes, thus developing an independent artistic activity on its own ground. Specificities of the peripheral style can also be seen in the production of the Industry of Salamon Berger, which has contributed to the European heritage with its *peripheral fashion* products.

Industry of Salamon Berger was founded and run by a well-known textile merchant and art-collector from Zagreb, Salamon Berger. He came up with a Croatian version of fashion during the period of Art Nouveau when the focus was mostly on the Oriental. He used Croatian ethno-elements in the production of city clothing and so created a unique stile, distinctive among the European trends, but a style that still followed fashion guidelines of the time. Those types of patterns were supposed to compete with fabrics from Paris and Vienna with oriental patterns that were in style in that time.

Interest in Ethnic Elements

The first important influence on fashion by country people occured in 18th century France where shepardess fashion appeared in the Court (Boucher 1997:306). Until then all influence on fashion was made by members of higher classes and nobility. Ted Polhemus makes a strict distinction between fashionable and traditional wardrobe. The former is inconsistent and ever-changing while the latter is persevering but geographically limited, even called anti-fashion. Polhemus recognises anti-fashionable as a readily used starting point for fashionable, but also notes that fashionable has influenced traditional wardrobe over the centuries (Polhemus 2002:207). Traditional wardrobe has, despite its main characteristic-perseverance, accepted and adopted fashionable inovations in certain periods turning them into components and therefore accepted fundamental characteristics of anti-fashion. That process was very slow and included only some fashionable elements such as patterns, fabrics and shapes. Anti-fashionable, traditional ethnic wardrobe in culture of clothing

is a visual sign of belonging. It is often used for political purposes to visually indentify one's political stance.

The growing influence of fashion in urban areas causes a rise of fear of loosing cultural identity and heritage. A huge interest in orientalism resulted in succesful synthesis of ethnic elements and fashionable forms. Art craft had a considerable part in shaping of unique fashionable forms. Olga Maruševski writes that art craft had to reconcile art, national economy, national sentiment and a diverse audience's taste (Maruševski 1982:20). Art craft, including the textile craft, had a prominent position thanks to the 19th century theoreticians: Semper's rational scientifically based principals had a practical use in organising work methods of craft schools (Maruševski 1982:21).

In a vast variety of Turn-of-the-Century decorative forms innocent ethnic ornament as an application on a fabric had the same meaning as a decorative monumentalism used as an expession of a national idea in visual arts and architecture. There is a growing interest for folk art ornaments and techniques beginging in 1870s when there was a tendency to use folk art in urban architecture in order to preserve Croatian national identity from German infuences. The political moment marked by the struggle for a national identity created an ideal climate for utilising Croatian cultural heritage as an inspiration. The result was a strenghtening of political conscience about conservation of cultural heritage by the people as a basic instrument of awakening nationalism. To preserve and maintain national art, programmes that encourage education and awareness were introduced. At the first main conference of Association of teachers of Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia the training in women's handiwork in schools was discussed in order to avoid becoming a victim of the era (Domaće ognjište 1905).

In Croatia, using the Hungarian ministry as an example, house industry and women industry were financed in order to apply themselves in fashion. That would make selling fashion items possible (Domaće ognjište 1907-1908). In order to achieve that, actvities of press were augmentetd and exibits and courses were organised.

In the period we are talking about, fashion in Croatia was perceived as an enemy. In Croatian newspapers and magazines it was characterised as a superficial tyrant, a fickle phenomenon with bad influences on the youth and national spirit (Domaće ognjište 1901, 1902, Obzor 1903). In fact, people dealing with fashion are described as profiteers, as people who are making a mockery of the world that surrounds us just by making something new and unfit each year. Furthermore, these very same newspapers place the blame on corsets for deformed and damaged bodies

of women. In their minds the main culprit for such a fashion plague was the industry. When *Singer* sewing machine was created in 1910, Croatian national costume faced a serious threat of extinction because even the country girls wanted to be in fashion. Because they were mostly poor, in contrast to city girls, country girls had to buy their outfits one article a season instead of buying the whole outfit at once. It remains questionable how fashionable were those articles the next season and in combination with a new one, but that is an indicator of the ability of the country people to adapt fashion to their situation. In 1907 correspondent J. Vakelić reports from Nova Gradiška that national costume is gradually disappearing and giving way to fashion or, as she says, "*zatire i ubija*" (erases and kills). Country produce was carried to town to buy silk. She notices that on Sundays and holidays there is *a rustle of silk, a squeak of shoes and a patchwork of women* (Fashion appendix, Domaće ognjište, book II 1907:10). In 1861 Milan Krešić in article "Moda i narodna nošnja" (Fashion and National Costume) advocated wearing the national costume instead of fashionable clothes. According to him people should like birds- as they accept their feathers people should accept their national costume, a clothing form that reflects their nationality. In his opinion a language makes a man and so do the clothes. He combined language and clothes and came to the conclusion that clothes are a form of visual language that showes someone's nationality (Krešić 1861:30).

But, fashion can be understood only if one belongs to a specific cultural environment, for example there were instances when Croatian peasants would emigrate to the United Sates and sent home pictures of themselves dressed in city clothing, but with hats put on the wrong way, or similar, which naturally caused gales of laughter. (Obzor 1910: no. 85)

Teacher associations took the lead in this war on foreign influences. They introduced mandatory school courses on traditional embroidery in textile schools.

However, their struggle was futile. Fashion found its place in all social layers, and consequently a new synthesis of folk and fashion styles was created.

Interest in ethnic elements in fashion was first recorded in Vienna. Fashion interest was focused on all that was *oriental*, foreign and far. Their first focus was on Egyptian and ancient Greek ornaments found on national costumes, and around 1907 (as a result of annex of Bosnia) even on Bosnian traditional patterns, which can be seen in the Viennese press of that time (Buxbaum 1986). After Vienna, interest in ethnic elements is noticed in the Paris fashion scene as well. Furthermore, art used the clothing item as a new medium, equal to painting or sculpture. In the spirit



Figure 1.1.

of fashion orientalism artists also began using elements of folk motifs both in their work and in clothing. Gustav Klimt used Slavic elements on the textile of the reform-dress. At the same time a Croatian painter Bela Cikos Sesija (1864-1931) is working on a robe with red geometrical pattern (fig.1-1) taken from towels and scarves from the Croatian region - Podravina, and with an ornamental squash pattern (fig.1-2).

Fashion influences from Paris and Wienna come via fashion magazines (*Le Figaro)* in which many photographs portraying ladies flirting with fashion-dressed in oriental clothes can be found.

In early 20th century ladies from Zagreb also put on historical costumes, oriental costumes or Croatian national costumes when they are having their photographs taken in ateliers. Oriental style that has prevailed in Europe has overtaken Zagreb too. However, the look of a fashion-aware lady wasn't encouraged here because it was cosidered promiscuous. Instead taking photographs of women in national costume was promoted as an expression of nationalism (Brenko 1994:31).



Figure 1.2

Apart from Bosnia, Croatia has also influenced Wienna with its national costumes. There is a postcard from Wienna depicting a Croatian national costume from 1911 that shows that Wiennese considered our national costumes as exotic and oriental.

In Croatia, expensive oriental fabrics and forms could not have been found in fashion shops to the extent of Paris or Vienna. Reason for this was weak financial power, so the import of such products was not as significant. Wealthier citizens went shopping to Paris. However, intellectuals of that period recognised that fashion orientalism could be an excellent starting point for the promotion of Croatian national motifs. Their goal was to enlighten citizens and show them the beauty of traditional Croatian heritage, as something that could be regarded as *oriental, exotic* but also available and fashionable. At the beginning of the 20th century Croatian newspapers and magazines record an interest in the folk culture by publishing many stories on Croatian national costumes, Croatian traditional techniques of textile production, as well as motifs. In



Figure 1.3.

1905, fashion magazines would publish templates for “modern” blouses and fashionable dresses embellished with traditional embroidery (fig.1-3).

From 1901 to 1909 schematics of traditional Croatian embroidery were published in "Domaće ognjište" (Domestic fireplace). Once a month along with black-and-white schematics a red schematic on cardboard were published. In 1903 in that magazine a form of national costume from Konavle (Dubrovnik) was published. In following issues an accent was on embroidery and the schematics for embroidery from different parts of Croatia were published. In the first schematics motifs were placed on the hems of nightgowns, undershirts, curtains, towels and linens, and in the later ones they were on the outer clothes-blouses, dresses, bags and children's clothes. The colours suggested were the ones that were used in traditional clothing-bright red, blue, green, and then brown, black and white. In time the intensity of colours diminished and under the influence of Art Nouveau fashion pastel tones were used and the accent was on the motifs. The motifs were placed on the edge of the clothing item or were placed in form of long ribbons around the neckline, sleeve-ends or lower parts of skirts. The motifs are geometrical shapes, stylized flowers, straight or zig-zag lines.

The schematics were drawn by Maša Janković, Anka Hozman (Konavle), Zenaida Bandur la Stoda and Melanija Rossi and were published as "Hrvatski narodni motive i nacrti" (Croatian National Motifs and Schematics) or in a smaller scale beside the text in "Domaće ognjište" (Domestic fireplace) (Domaće ognjište 1906, 1907, 1908). Schematics of harmonically coordinated fashionable forms and anti-fashion (traditional) forms were published dr. Savićeva, Fran Milan Gjukić, dr. Hirc and others.

Even the nobility have recognised the beauty of Croatian lace, fabrics and Dalmatian embroidery. In fact, such textile items have been used in the Viennese court (Domaće ognište, 1905). Thanks to that interest, schools started giving active training in women’s needle work in order to preserve the national treasure and to keep it alive.

In Zagreb and its surroundings, patterns taken from the national costume of Podravina were used. At first they were copied in the original red colour and later they started to use the modern pastel shades as well. The goal was, as it was said in the magazines of the time, *“to be completely free of foreign influences”*. A specific fashion language was formed, uniting the fashion style of the big centres and a strong Croatian traditional influence – the so called *peripheral* fashion. It was promoted by individual educated female members of the high society and woman intellectuals. However, despite the strong medial promotion focusing on application of traditional heritage to fashion, Croatian young women still preferred to wear fashionable forms of Vienna or Paris, because they saw such items as oriental and new. In 1908 a journalist in Domaće ognjište

sadly states "*That what belongs to another is better than what is ours*". However, this *peripheral fashion*, which had not been so successful in Croatia, has been accepted quite differently in the world thanks to Salamon Berger.

Industry of Salamon Berger (1885-1911)

Salamon Berger was born on February 25th, 1858, in a village called Mnežice in Slovakia, and died in 1934. As a trained tradesman at the age of 16 he went into the world and at the end came to Croatia. There he discovered the national treasures of the Baranja region. In order to save valuable examples of traditional textiles, he started collecting items and became acquainted with ways of production. He was also the first director of the Ethnographic museum. He started producing fabrics with folk motifs. Traditional techniques were adjusted to modern demands, and so folk elements became part of fashionable garments at the end of the 19th and beginning of 20th centuries.

By studying samples he noticed that women from Posavina and Podravina (fig.2-1) were skilled weavers and embroiderers, and that adornment on the folk textile was excellent in terms of ornament and colour. His production included ribbons (fig.2-2) which were later either included as individual wholes on a piece of clothing, or were used to emphasise the line of the seam (fig.2-3). Typical clothing object with a ribbon included, from the period of Art Nouveau is portrayed in fig.2-4.

Berger will later use his knowledge of these techniques in his personal activity–home manufacture. In 1885 he opened a textile shop in Zagreb, situated at today's main square, the main stage of Zagreb's social life. Along with the shop he also opened a textile school where country women with experience in weaving taught younger generations. Furthermore, he also employed women in the countryside to make traditional fabrics with region-specific motifs in their free time. This collaboration was so successful that he had 2000 country women working for him at one time, which certainly helped them to improve their financial status (Franić1935) In Zagreb, Berger formed an Industry, which from a today's standpoint can be regarded as the first *designer* workshop. It employed all kinds of people working in different professions: fashion illustrators, tailors, constructors, weavers, travelling salesmen, all those necessary in the making process – from the idea to the final product and marketing. His strivings as well as his promotional activities on the foreign market have helped to spread the national culture.



Figure 2.1.

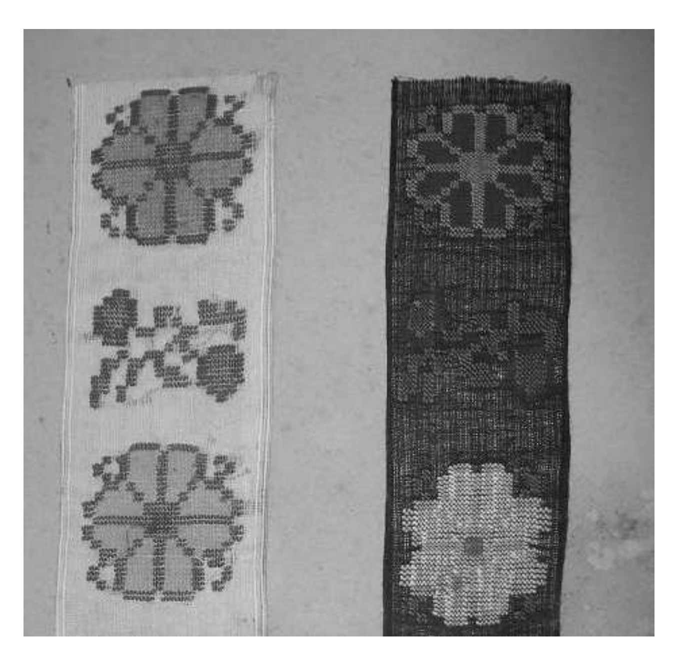


Figure 2.2.



Figure 2.3.



Figure 2.4.

Croatian textile products from the Industry of Salamon Berger have been placed on the world market through exhibitions, for example: in 1888 in Munich, 1900 in Paris, 1904 in Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna and Paris. In 1907 there was a big exhibition in Zagreb, first of its kind. Furthermore, they were presented at the exhibition in the United States (1905 in St. Louis after which major orders were made for the US and Canadian markets), and then in Australia.

Berger also organised and personally financed warehouses in Vienna, Inomost, Meran, Karlovy Vary, Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt am Mein, Monaco, St. Maurice, Paris and London. He had eight commercial travellers on payroll who travelled and made business connection all over the world. These travelling salesmen had with them maps with samples and drawings to be shown to potential clients. Berger's goal was to use not only the recognisable colours specific for Zagreb and its region, which is red, blue and white, but also to use a pallet of pastel colours (which are not specific for Croatian heritage) but at the same time to keep the traditional forms. This resulted in Croatian ornaments in the style of Art Nouveau. As a true businessman, he had recognised the fashion interests of Vienna and Paris and offered them different products. One for Vienna, where fashion was in love with colour due to oriental influences, and another for Paris, where fashion orientalism meant light and airy fabrics as much as new clothing forms. Berger started manufacturing decorative bands for application to clothing items or to be used as connective instrument for two pieces of fabric. Bands were made of domestic material, which was then embroidered with motifs in rich colours. In rhythmic patterns, such motifs had different variations in form and colour, thus creating a dynamic and an exotic look, but nevertheless a look inspired by traditional Croatian motifs. These decorative bands first conquered Vienna. In addition to decorative bands, Berger also started manufacturing fabrics and their first success was recorder in Paris.

Linen fabrics from the workshop of S. Berger were made in the original technique from Posavina, but in a way that followed the world fashion trends:

- "*Redina*" technique–creates an interestingly transparent surface: in comparison to the ordinary weaving technique where usually one warp and one weft yarn is woven in turn, in this technique weft is doubled so the rhythm is 2 weft yarns, space, and than again 2 wefts (fig.2-5)
- "*Vutlak*" we have a fabric with small holes (fig.2-6)
- "*Zijev*"**,** along with a weft yarn another, thicker and coloured yarn is added. In this way we get a geometrically textured surface in colours(fig.2-7)



Figure 2.5.

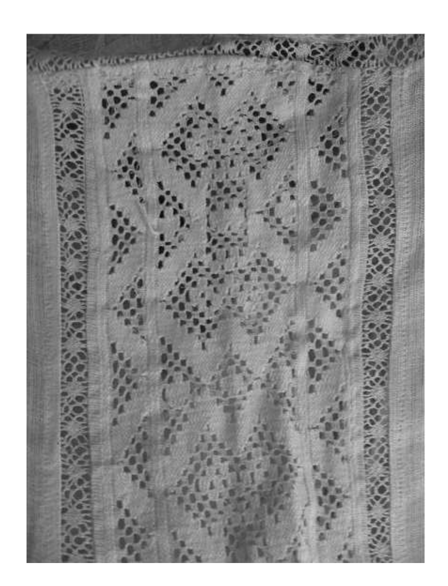


Figure 2.6.

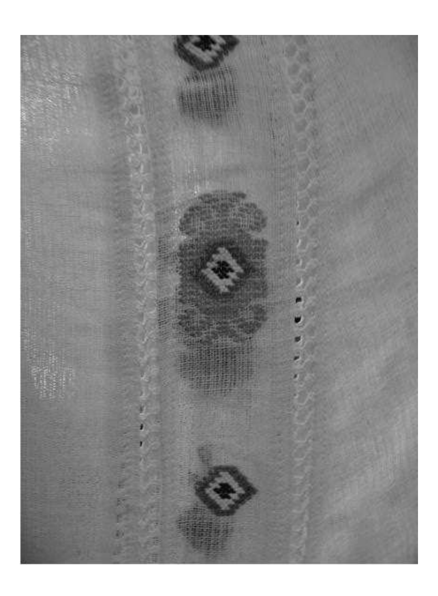


Figure 2.7.

These fabrics were used in the making of fashionable pieces of urban clothing which were then sold in big urban centres. A photograph from the Zagreb Ethnographic Museum (fig.2-8) proves this claim. It shows a clothing object that was created in the fashion studio of Madam Paquin somewhere around 1909. Fabrics used in the making of this dress were from the Berger workshop. Berger workshop used to make fabrics from flax and cotton. Collaboration with Madam Paquin came in to existence thanks to the International exhibition in Paris in 1900. In that exhibition Jeanne Beckers Paquin was named president of the *Fashion section.* Her job was to decide who will be chosen to show their fashion objects, fabrics and related products in the exhibition. Products from the Salamon Berger's industry were among the chosen ones. After that encounter Berger industry produced drawings for a blue woman's suit. The skirt belonging to this suit is preserved in the Etnographic museum in Zagreb (fig.2-4). Author of this drawing remains unknown.

The second piece of information proving their collaboration is found in the press of that period. We find records in Parisian newspapers and magazines of that time, to be exact in 1909, how fabrics with Croatian ethnic ornament became quite popular there. One Hungarian lady in Paris, who was a reporter for a magazine from Budapest, recorded how in salons of the Parisian king of fashion, Paul Poiret, *"exquisite fabrics are sold that*



Figure 2.8.

adorn the most elegant garments of Parisian gentlemen”. This Hungarian lady recognised costumes, displayed in shops and embellished with embroidery that were not of Parisian origin, but rather as she puts it, *"from my homeland Hungary! From Zagreb! Sent there by a merchant from Zagreb, called Berger!"* She sees Zagreb as a part of the Hungarian monarchy and therefore these products are characterised as Hungarian. In one article published in a Croatian newspaper it was said how ribbons made by the Berger industry were used as ornaments on elegant Parisian costumes, or as trims, applications and similar. Fabrics were used to make blouses, while in Croatia such a piece of clothing was not popular, in fact it was quite despised.

And therefore we can say that the situation back then was quite similar to today's–the beauty of domestic products was most usually recognised only in foreign markets, as perhaps something exotic, while the local buyer from Zagreb failed to treat this fabric with as much respect as the foreign one did. In 1907, Salamon Berger pointed out how already around 1870 France, Germany and Belgium have sent their experts to Croatia in order to study and collect traditional embroidery and lace. He described this in his work "*Perdition of the home production*", written in 1907. For example, Croatian patterns were reproduced in German illustrated publications as templates for handicraft. Elements taken from the Dalmatian traditional pattern, also known as the "*cross pattern*" or "*opačica*" were also used in fashion salons in Paris and Vienna, such as Jungamann and Prevost salons. They were applied on fashionable items and valued as pieces of art (Domaće ognjište/Domestic fireplace 1907/1908)

Despite all this, Salamon Berger did not get support for his weaving school and warehouses abroad. After a while he stopped trading in objects produced in the manner of the national heritage, which means that another attempt to preserve small domestic production had failed.

Reasons for the Collapse of Salamon Berger's Industry

We know that change is the main characteristic of fashion, so this style was not around for long either. Despite the intent to preserve the old techniques of production and national motifs, and effort to bring additional sources of profit to women in rural parts, this fusion of fashion elements, i.e. forms, and anti-fashion ones, i.e. patterns, did not last. Besides fashion that always wants new things, problems with production have been present ever since the industry was started.

Salamon Berger was given support, but not by the major part of the political elite of the time who were, in fact, against him. They never recognised in his work Croatian economic interests and hence never gave him support. However, one part of politicians thought that Berger's efforts were positive and people such as Dr. Fran Vrbanić took his side and fought to push the domestic product onto the world market. He was also supported by the Zagreb Chamber of Trades and Crafts. With their help Berger made contacts with foreign companies and got access to embassy reports.

However, one part of the political elite believed that Croatian production would be no match to the big foreign industries and world market, for it should be adjusted to meet high demands. They believed that fashion was of short life and that interest in Croatian traditional production would soon

fade away, which would leave the country women without an income they got used to. One of the people with such an attitude was Iso Kršnjavi. He was a Croatian painter, art historian and a prominent politician. In his opinion the liberal party of the time gave Berger much more credit than he actually deserved. (Kus-Nikolajev 1941:16).

Despite his enormous effort and his own money invested in production, the Berger industry was closed for business in 1911. After that Salomon Bereger dedicated his life to collecting national costumes of European and non-European people, which today makes the basic collection of the Zagreb Ethnographic Museum.

Conclusions

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries in Croatia have been marked by art Nouveau and by a strong awakening of the national awareness, which also had an impact on fashion. At the border of the European circle, Croatia as a peripheral environment had adopted fashion principles received from the big centres and thanks to Salamon Berger it manufactured its own fashion products. Because of bad experiences from world exhibitions, Croatian political elite of that period did not understand Salamon Berger's strivings, and due to their lack of courage they failed to finance his ideas and the textile branch which could have been of huge importance for the Croatian economy. From today's point of view, products of the Berger industry in the time of Art Nouveau are a significant contribution to our understanding of fashion of that period. They have left they mark on fashion in Zagreb, but have left a modest mark on world trends as well.

Acronyms

MUO Museum for Arts and Crafts, Zagreb
EMZ Ethnographic Museum, Zagreb
MGZ Municipal Museum Zagreb

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STUDENT CLOTHING IN SERBIA FROM THE MID 19TH CENTURY TO THE 1980S

LJILJANA STANKOV

The first regulations and uniforms

In 1820s the first European fashionable clothes arrived in Serbia and were worn by few people, mainly those who had opportunity to travel or study in European cities. Old handicrafts started disappearing and the new ones took their place, with products more appropriate to everyday needs, particularly in towns.

State authorities initiated many social changes around 1840 in Principality of Serbia. They founded governmental structures, with appropriate regulations, showing its power and steadiness. The first common law on schools was passed in 1844, and it regulated the existence of primary, secondary schools and *Lyceum*, which was the highest and unique institution of that kind.

Before any law relating to the students´ uniforms was passed, in 1849 the uniforms for professors were made obligatory, as it was for the government clerks. It consisted of *fez* with embroidered Serbian coat of arms, *mundir* and *trousers* made of French navy homespun, *scarf* around the neck, *gloves* and *boots*. *Mundir* had *navratnik* (a piece of cloth around the neck) and *zarukavlje* (cloth around the arm), made of ash-coloured homespun with *embroidered golden oak leaves*. Uniforms were obligatory during the holidays, in ceremonies like oaths giving, visiting the Prince or minister. The Ministry of Education (Djordjević 1936: 61) [1] looked over the teachers and their appearance.

When it comes to the combining of different styles and influences, we can take the example of the students at the *Lyceum*, who themselves decided to begin wearing uniforms, which were to be inspired by national costume. In 1847 young students and public school pupils founded

[1] Ž. Djordjević, The schools in Šumadija today and in the past, Subotica, 1932, p. 61.

association named *Družina mladeži Srbske* (The Association of Serbian Youth). They believed that clothes had a great influence on “rousing” national sentiment. The first problem was that they themselves had no idea what the national costume was! Was it the costume depicted on medieval frescoes or the traditional dress from a particular region? The frequent migrations of the Serbian population from other parts of the Balkans contributed to the traditional dress being very diverse, not only from one region to another, but also from one village to another, and there were even cases of Serbs in the same village speaking different dialects and having different customs and traditional costume. Designing one model which would represent Serbian clothing was far from simple. Their first step was to do some research, the result of which was an outfit which they considered to be original, national and their own. However, it had ingredients of both traditional heritage and foreign influences: the fez worn on the head was a different style to the Turkish fez (a shorter fez with a tassel), blue worsted serge trousers, and a jacket with decorative braiding across the chest, named after medieval Serbian rulers – *Dušanka*, after king Dušan, and *Lazarica*, after prince Lazar.

This look was mostly inspired by the heroes from national epic poems in order to clearly differentiate itself from the so-called “German clothes”, which was a synonym for those of the European middle-class. As members of the young cultural elite, they wanted to show their national individuality even through their appearance.

Student clothing in male schools

Common clothing was present only in boarding schools, in cases when the state had obligation to provide accommodation, food and meet pupils` needs. Clothing presented belonging to a certain social class or a profession. First vocational schools were Theological Seminary (1836) and Military School (1837) in Belgrade. The Seminary`s students did not have uniforms, but they were dressed almost identically - without jackets, the hats were also rare, with fez or cap on their heads. In 1880 the rules referred to suits that consisted of *dušanka*, vest, folk trousers, hat and shoes. The colour of the suit had to be black or dark gray and brown. In the Military School[2], the uniforms were also appropriate – military (photo 1).

[2] The school transformed into the Military Academy in 1880.



Photo 1.

Around 1850 other vocational secondary schools were founded. Uniforms in The Agricultural School in Topčider[3] (1853) had elements of national costume, consisting of covering, folk trousers and a type of sleeveless embroided jacket, a fur hat for winter and a straw hat for summer, together with peasant shoes. The school worked until 1859. In the same period, Serbia founded its first Military Technical School in Kragujevac. Their uniforms resembled military uniforms. [4]

The first Teachers` College for male teachers, organized as a boarding school, was founded in 1871 in Kragujevac. The foundation of this unique institution, that had been awaited for many decades, arosed many questions that needed urgent answers. It turned out that the duty of the state, regulated by law, to cover all needs of the boarders, including clothes, was a very difficult task. When their uniforms were in question, the Ministry of Education did not give any instructions. The only recommendation was to make good quality clothes that would last long

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[3] Belgrade suburb

[4] They were different than in The Military School in Belgrade.

and to use domestic materials. The school board agreed about the model: it consisted of a coat, waistcoat and folk trousers, made of high quality material, imported from Budapest. The uniforms were meant to attract future students. A certain competition among schools could be noticed in such efforts of the school administrations.

When form was in question, the coat and waistcoat were very classic, and trousers common, without any other applications or decorations.[5] It was also recommended that every student had to have shirts made of American linen, with fibrous collar and cuffs, four pairs of pants, two neck – scarfs, for handkerchiefs, two towels, four pairs of peasant shoes and one common summer hat.

However, school authorities had to face some problems. When the time for deliverance of 23 suits came, the merchant delivered only – one probation suit. Even that one suit was not satisfying. Two commissions found out not only that the material was not good enough, but that the undercloth for waistcoats was cheaper that it had been agreed. The merchant did not want to accept the objections. That made additional inconvenience to the school administration which ended with a comprehensive report to the Minister of Education.

The Ministry of Education demanded that the textile fabric made in domestic factory had to be used. However, neither school management nor tailors wanted to use domestic fabric, since it was of a bad quality. Serbian textile fabric was not appropriate for the suit made by so – called German cut. The wool was too gross, and the material rigid and difficult for processing. Besides, the school authorities claimed that such textile fabric would not last long. The economic side was pointed out first, and then the moral side as well. The difference between the boarders of the Teacher`s College and the Military School and Theological Seminary would be created. Future teachers dressed in gross textile fabric would be similar to the prisoners who could be seen in such suits in Kragujevac and Belgrade. They wanted to stress that not only the boarders would be under bad moral impression created by wearing such suit, but the others as well who would maybe consider the enrolment into the school.[6] Nobody would like to attend such a school, and to be a teacher at all! This example shows how the school administration had many difficulties to organize classes, as well as the entire life in boarding school, and to watch over the students' appearance (photo 2).

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[5] The official letter of the headmaster Petar Karić to Dimitrije Matić, the Minister of Education from 8th March 1871, MPs, FVI, 159
[6] The official letter sent on 23rd July 1871, MPs, F VI, 31



Photo 2.

The first generation of 14 teachers graduated in 1873. In next several years there were some disagreements between students and their educators in the boarding school. Students` riots influenced the decision of school authorities to move the school in Belgrade in 1877. After 1896, the school was moved again, in Aleksinac. The boarding facilities ceased to exist in Belgrade, and were not available in Aleksinac as well.

In some schools, for example in Military School, students were obliged to return their uniforms after finishing the school. In some other schools, like Theological and Teachers' College, they were allowed to keep one of the suits for themselves.

Another Teachers` College for male teachers, organized as a boarding school, was founded in 1898 in Jagodina. Its headmaster Sreten Adžić made it unique, with excellent working conditions, modern teaching aids, its own farm, gardens and outdoor classrooms. It was easy to recognize its students – in winter they were wearing *šajkača* – Serbian national cap, with class number on a braid, resembling military uniform. They also had a special suit for appearance in public. Only one generation (1905) had



Photo 3.

straw hats. The purchase of materials depended on market supply. The summer suit was light, made of coarse fabric, associated by a straw hat (photo 3).

After 1870 new Agricultural Schools were opened in several places In Serbia.[7] Students were supplied with suits that resembled a national costume from Šumadija. In 1884, when railway arrived, new vocational schools were opened, with their uniforms similar to railway working suits. However, the students from grammar schools and modern schools did not have particular uniforms. They were wearing European models with caps on their heads, and only elder students were wearing hats. In the last decade of 19th century there were some attempts to make caps obligatory. However, the compulsory wearing of caps, as part of the uniform, could not be implemented because not everyone could afford to buy them. As it

[7] In Požarevac (1872), Kraljevo (1882), Bukovo bear Negotin (1891) and Šabac (1904).

was up to the students' parents to purchase uniforms, without any financial help from the state, this requirement had to be dropped.

Poor students had to cope with the situation by themselves. It came out that they could not afford new suits even for the most important celebrations, like Christmas. There were several situations in which they looked like this: on their heads were soldier's caps, on their feet thick peasant socks and red peasant shoes[8], then white summer trousers, old dark red jackets, tucked into the trousers, and old tailcoats instead of winter coats (Magovčević 1939: 365).

Student clothing in female schools

In 1840s the first private schools for girls were founded. In villages boys and girls were usually together in classes until the age of ten, but in towns they were separated.

The first Girls' College for female teachers was founded in Belgrade in 1863 and was led 30 years by Katarina Milovuk, a professor with wide educational background. She was a founder of several female associations. Besides, she was well known as an uncompromising combatant against luxury. The School was very respected and the discipline standards were very high. Any adornment to female clothing, a low-cut neckline, or expensive fabric was considered to be breaking dress rules, and such behaviour was punishable. Fashion was synonymous with luxury, and contrary to the modesty and natural beauty of the female[9].

In the apprentice schools of Belgrade Women Association, as well as in all vocational schools of the kind, the classes were mainly practical, held in workshops and studios, and certain uniforms were needed for such work. In order to control students` behaviour when being outside the school building, the administration of the Women´s Association passed in 1897 the Regulation that all female students were obliged to wear aprons as their uniforms in the street. The uniform was dark grey but after the notion of Princess Jelena Karadjordjević, the patroness of the Association, that the aprons were too dark, they became a lighter colour.

The first Teachers' College for female teachers was opened in Belgrade in 1900. The school had particular regulations on students' behaviour that referred to their outward appearance: their clothes had to be clean and

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[8] The type of peasant shoes that was made in Western Serbia.

[9] For the organization of vocational schools for girls, see the report which Jelena N. Marković presented to the Board for Vocational Teaching at the Ministry of National Economy, Domaćica, 1911, no.3, pp. 92-93.

modest, their skirts were not allowed to touch the ground. Necklaces and jewellery were not allowed. Their haircut had to be simple and long hair had to be collected in plats and braids, without any decorations. Shoes were low heels, black and always shining. Perfumes were not allowed. Hats could have only one ribbon as decoration, without any other accessories like artificial feathers. Dresses were also without decorations. Those regulations were printed in the students` licences, in order to make students always aware of them.

In other female secondary schools the rules of behaviour and clothing were the same. Female students were given the task of sewing their own aprons during their handiwork classes. These were of a simple cut and were supposed to protect their clothes, to be a sign of their skill in sewing, which was expected of future housewives, and to be made of simple, cheap material, which was meant to encourage thrift and modesty.

Student clothing in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia)

In the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1929, Yugoslavia), secondary schools were under the auspices of different ministries (education, religion, agriculture, trade and industry, transport, military). Each supervisory ministry drew up their own regulations for each type of school, and when it came to school uniforms, they differed according to the vocation the students were training for. Uniforms, or some parts of uniforms, were worn in all secondary schools, the caps in the first place. The marks of recognition on students` caps were: badges, the colour of the braid, ornamental bands. The grades were presented by Roman numbers and brass badges. The classes were presented by Arabian numbers. Some technical schools had as their mark the stylized parts of machines in use in their professions. In big places with many secondary schools, the difference among students was stressed in this way, but in small places, where there was only one school of the kind, only class number was needed.

A European cut was customary, but in some schools, above all those specializing in agriculture, and the Teachers' College in Užice (in the late 1930s) elements of the national dress of Šumadija were retained, namely the *šajkača*. The girls had dark blue or black berets. Students were obliged to wear caps (and aprons) in the street. As in previous period, it was the mean of control over youth (photo 4).



Photo 4.

When boarding schools were in question, following the regulations was easier, but not all schools were obliged to provide clothing together with accommodation. In some places students brought their own clothes with them, but the type and number of items had to be in accordance with the school regulations (photo 5).

For those schools which were not boarding schools, students were not required to have uniforms, but there were regulations on how they should dress. Students had to be smartly and modestly-dressed (photo 6).

As far as girls were concerned, their school dresses had to be of a decent length - half-way down the calves, black, with buttons and white collars. The quality of materials depended on parental material status. If the school administration was ready to give their approval, it was allowed to alter the style slightly - the collars could have navy shape, the sashes around neck could be dark blue with white spots (photo 7).



Photo 5.

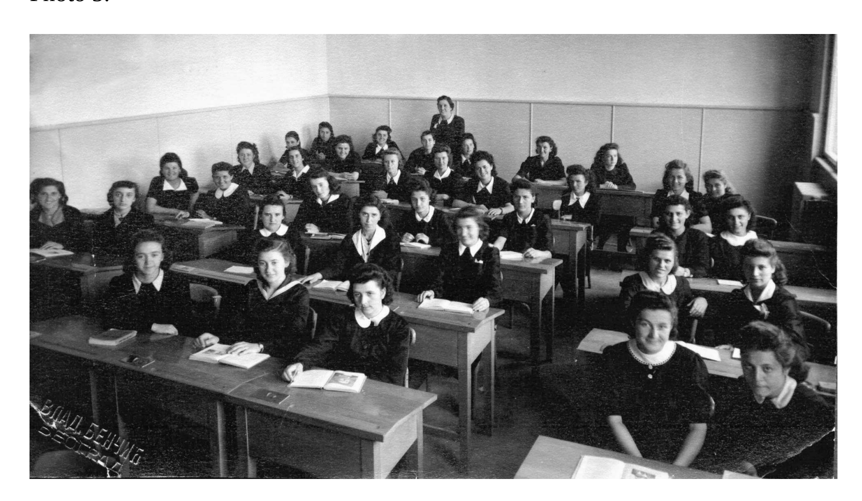


Photo 6.



Photo 7.

Working uniforms had to be adapted to the type of work. Formal suits, in navy style, were also present. Winter uniforms were dark blue and summer uniforms were white. Students used to wear them in church, at school celebrations and other manifestations organized by school youth.

Sport and other associations

In all secondary schools during this period, there were student organizations, with up to 7 different such associations. All students were involved in them and the teachers were responsible for organizing and monitoring their work. Becoming involved in the work of the different organizations was not left to students' spontaneous free will, but was set out in the school rules.

Besides school uniforms, there was also clothing connected with sport and other associations in primary and secondary school, like: Hawks, Scouts, Junior Red Cross, Non - alcoholic Youth, Junior Adriatic Guard, Air club Youth ``Our Wings``, Youth Holiday Association.

In 1880s the first sport associations were founded. The gymnastic associations were transformed into the Association of Hawk Societies "Dušan Silni" in 1909. The significant number of members belonged to the youth. The Gymnastic Society in Kragujevac consisted of students from

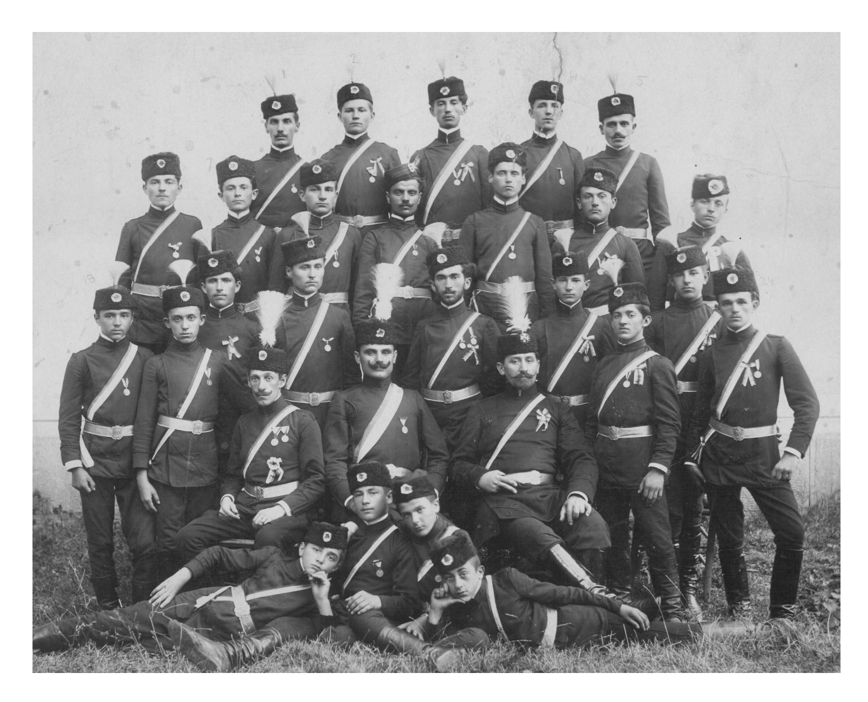


Photo 8.

the Military Technical School and the Grammar School mainly. Their ceremonial uniform was a combination of traditional and foreign influences. They had elements of Russian, French and Serbian military uniforms. Their shirt *koporan* was taken from Russian military uniform from 1896. The ceremonial cap *kalpak* (a cone shape cap), made of astrakhan had a rosette similar to a French cap worn by soldiers and military officers. The plume originated from Serbian tradition. It was made of eagle or ostrich feathers and it became a part of Serbian guardian uniform in 1859. Younger members had the decoration made out of white horse hair (photo 8).

After the First World War, the Ministry of Education payed a lot of attention to physical education. The system of hawk excersises was conducted in almost all secondary schools. Physical education of youth was considered as a necessity for people and the state[10].

[10] Very few schools had conditions to run special sections because they needed to have a great number of members and equiped gyms. Thus, a great number of young people used to exercise in their hometowns, in gyms named *sokolane.*

The country of origin of the scouts movement was England. Robert Baden Powell, a general, presented his way of integral and harmonious education in his book *Scouting for Boys*. That book was translated in Serbian in 1911 by Miloš Dj. Popović, Ph.D. under the title *The Little Chetnik.* The translator gave explanation of this title, since chetniks were the members of a basic unit named *četa*. The work on foundation of such units had started even before the Balkan War. The scout movement was restored in Voden in 1917 by founding the Society for Protection of Yugoslav Children. Its essence was in "harmonious development of mental, physical and moral virtues of children." In physical sense, children were fostered to move freely, exposed to fresh air, and to develop in this way the orientation in various life situations. The feelings of duty and belonging to community were developed. In the following period the scout movement was in expansion. The Scout Society had a pedagogic influence on the youth. It developed friendship and diminished vices.

The scout system was applied firstly in the students' association of Non – alcoholic Youth, which was founded also by Miloš Popović, Ph.D. in 1901. Students were active in "circles" in their schools, trying to diminish such vices. Although every school had such association, the members did not have specific uniforms.

The Junior Red Cross had influence on the youth by developing awareness of noble tasks of the association, providing the members with basic knowledge on physical and psychical hygiene and by practical work, aiming to promote feelings of duty and help towards the others. The tasks of the association were: education for civil duties, fostering of morality and joy arising from doing good deeds, developing love towards peers and children from other places and countries, collecting money and other things for people in need. The Day of the Junior Red Cross was celebrated with walking in ceremonial procession through town in uniforms: white aprons and caps (or scarves), with the mark of the Red Cross.

From 1936 air clubs were founded in secondary schools, together with their youth branch "Our Wings", with a task to inform students about the significance of aviation.

Air clubs held courses for flying – model constructors and elder members had opportunity to finish courses for pilots of sailplanes. In order to collect money for their activities, they used to organize matinee dances and performances. In the male Grammar School in Niš there were around 250 members of the Youth Air club. Seven of them formed their jazz orchestra and had matinee performances in Niš and Pirot. Their aim was not only to play music and make their performances, but to collect means for their courses as well. The members' uniforms were – badges (photo 9).



Photo 9.

Junior Adriatic Guard was an association with a task to foster and develop love for the Adriatic sea and awareness of its significance for Yugoslavia. They participated in performances, processions in the streets and organized trips to the Adriatic coast. The Youth Holiday Association was also very widespread, but its members did not have special uniforms.[11]

Besides common aims, the youth in every school made efforts to express their creativity and to become prominent in their surroundings. Their free time was very organized, fulfilled with educational activities and always under the guidance of elders - their professors who were given duties to supervise several associations. Through such associations the activities of the youth were fostered, as well as their need for independent, creative engagement in achieving common aims and work in community.

School clothing in the Socialist Yugoslavia

The members of the Yugoslav Pioneer Association, founded during the Second World War, were children up to 14 years of age. Every year, on

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[11] The Association had an aim to offer their members as many opportunities as possible for learning something about their homeland. This aim was realized through travelling and members had the advantage of fare reduction by train and state steamships during summer holidays.

the Day of Republic, 29th November, all first grade used to pass a very formal ceremony, consisting of giving a solemn promise to behave according to exemplary given by their war coeval. A red pioneer scarf with badge[12] was received in the ceremony and it was used for school events, reweaves, rallies. The formal pioneer uniform consisted of: white shirt or blouse, dark blue trousers or skirt, dark blue cap named *titovka*. There was a formal pioneer greeting: "For homeland, with Tito, march ahead!" the pioneer units mostly had name of a war hero (photo 10).

Working uniforms for primary school pupils and secondary schools students were the same - blue jackets for the boys and blue aprons for the girls, indicating belonging to the working class. The units could have their branches, named after the associations that had existed before Second World War: The Red Cross, The Scouts, The National Technology, The Association for Physical Education ''Partisan", The Hiking Association, The Air club. The activities of such organizations were led by teachers, pioneer instructors (elder pupils) and parents. The youth also had their sport and artistic organizations. The local and federal working campaigns were occasions for "spreading of brotherhood and unity all our nations and ethnic groups" and a way to build roads, railways, settlements...The Youth Relay, with messages to Tito was carried across the Yugoslav territory and delivered to beloved Tito on 25th May, the Youth Day. Participating in the rally was a great honour and young people were spending months in preparation for that happening.

By the 1980s, school uniforms were no longer compulsory, which is still the case today, even though there are calls for them to be reintroduced to schools, an idea which has both its supporters and opponents.

Finding a balance between east and west while emphasising one's own national heritage, in culture in general, but also in the culture of dressing, was reflected in students' clothes as well. The role which school uniforms played in a period spanning more than one century was severalfold. They were supposed to point to the existence of an organized school system, and the belonging to one particular school, profession and social class. Uniforms also presented a control instrument over the youth. The adults who drew up the dress regulations for young people expected that they would be able to control their behaviour outside school as well, that it would be one way to implement order and discipline, that modesty when it came to clothing would induce the young to behave in a modest and disciplined way, too.

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[12] The pioneer badge was in a flag shape, with five pointed star, bay – wreath, the portraits of a pioneer girl and a pioneer boy.



Photo 10.

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MIGRATIONS AND CHANGES IN TRADITIONAL ATTIRE

PETKO HRISTOV

The tradition of seasonal labour migrations, mainly among the male population, has existed for centuries in a number of regions on the Balkans. The model, according to which the men earn their money "there" (the neighbouring region, the big city, another country or "somewhere on the Balkans"), but return every year to their home villages and their families "here", is known on the Balkans as "*gurbet*", or with the South-Slavic term "*pechalbarstvo*" (Hristov 2008-A: 216-217). This way of "life-in-motion", practiced for centuries, imposed lasting transformations on the life cycle and the traditional culture of people in these regions, thus changing their attitude towards the surrounding world. The Balkans offer a variety of traditional cultural patterns of seasonal/temporary labour migration in different regions, but they share common typological features that make them an important part of what we would call a Balkan "migration culture", following Caroline Brettell's example (cf. Brettell 2003: 3).

This Balkan version of this "mobility culture", practiced by generations of men who earned their means for living away from home, caused a number of transformations in the entire model of traditional culture in these regions, related to the temporary absence of males from the village. In a number of places in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Serbia and Turkey these transformations encompassed the ways of making a living and material culture, as well as everyday gender stereotypes, social organisation, the holiday calendar and the rituals, related to a person's life cycle. Some of these cultural patterns, particularly in the border regions of Bulgaria, Eastern Serbia and Macedonia, have already been mentioned in my earlier works (cf. Hristov 2008-B: 273-295; Hristov 2009: 109-126). Works of comparative research about *gurbet* on the Balkans are still remarkably few in numbers. A significant challenge for researchers (historians, ethnologists, culturologists, sociologists, demographers) is to explain how these traditional patterns of "life-in-

motion" are reproduced and transformed in the conditions of globalisation and EU expansion, which give more opportunities for labour mobility in a European perspective. This research is still yet to happen.

According to a traditional Bulgarian saying, people "greet their guests by their clothes but finally judge them by their minds". In Balkan traditions, garments formed the entire image of the people and predetermined their behaviour. Attire "signed" and "classified" people socially and culturally, if we are to use contemporary scientific terminology. Dress and clothing, however, is not only a personal characteristic of the individual, it is also a very important indicator of the social dynamics and cultural changes in traditional communities.

The purpose of my research is to describe through the changing clothing how the traditionally intensive seasonal labour mobility of men from the central part of the Balkans changed both the migrants themselves (mainly builders) and their home villages and local communities. Known in literature as "*Shopluk*", this once culturally similar in history region, today comprises the territory where the borders of Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia converge (Hristov 2008-A: 216). My fieldwork started in 2001 and every year covered different regions of Pirot in Serbia, Kriva Palanka in Macedonia, Tran and Pernik in Bulgaria.

The main questions of this research are:

- How did the socio-cultural environment change in local communities that every year "sent" the majority of the male population to "gain for a living" ("*na gurbet*", "*za pechalba*") in the quickly growing cities?
- What did the men "take" with them from their traditional culture and what do they acquire from the new urban cultural patterns and models of behaviour? What did they "bring" with them to their home village?
- What specific transformations occurred in the male and the female traditional attire in the years of the early bourgeois modernisation and, more generally, in the patterns of clothing and behaviour?
- In what ways did the "modern" urban culture penetrate the village and what were the resulting changes?

In this article I will focus on how labour mobility of men migrants changed traditional male and female attire in the previously mentioned regions of Shopluk. My interest is focused particularly on the possibilities and the ways of acquiring urban cultural patterns and their penetration in

the village environment. I must add, however, that the urban environment was also modified by the socio-cultural characteristics of the migrants.

I will fix primarily on the newly proclaimed capital of Bulgaria after the Liberation of 1878. In the decades at the end of the 19th century Sofia quickly became an attractive destination for builders and seasonal male migrant workers not only from nearby villages but also from the entire Shopluk, a number of regions in Eastern Serbia, and Macedonia, which still remained under Ottoman rule (Hristov 2005: 85-86).

An important influence on the changes towards "early modernization" in the traditional culture of villages in a number of regions in Midwestern Bulgaria had the growing coal mine in Pernik, turned into a government enterprise in 1896. Although Pernik was not declared a city until 1926, urban patterns of clothing and behaviour were actively being imposed administratively.

Although ethnographic literature knows the preliminary conclusion about the "dramatic difference between the culture of Sofia on the one hand and the traditional culture of the villages around Sofia, on the other hand" (Georgiev 1984: 36) throughout the post-Liberation period, local people understood the changes in attire as a normal historical process: "One does not change his skin, but changes his clothes!" ("*Dode e zhiv chovek kozhata si ne menyava, nosiyata si menyava*!" – cf. Veleva 1993: 138).

Traditionally, the former *charshiya* is the space where the city and the village meet, where not only goods, services and workforce are exchanged but also cultural stereotypes and models of behaviour ("urban" and "village" – cf. Hristov 2005: 81), where the big city (the capital) acquires what it needs to function properly but also changes the "intimate" world of the patriarchal village.

However, the market in Sofia where each Friday peasants from nearby villages "poured in" was not the real place for "cultural exchange" between the village and the city. When describing Dragalevtsi (Sofia region) during the 1930s, Irwin Sanders wrote:

> "Even when a peasant moves about the town, he is still in a rural environment; he passes with his cart through the back streets of the town, talks predominantly with other peasants and visits preferred pubs, where he can have a talk with friends from other villages".

And Sanders made the conclusion:

> "His (the Dragalevtsi peasant's – P.H.) psychological world is still rural, though in the town he is surrounded by noisy trams, sounding vehicles and merrily decorated shops. Though going every week to the town, he

> actually does not come into real contact with the ideas of the town and the urban life.” (Sanders 1935-36: 134).

Those of them who settled permanently in the city and entered the ranks of the hired workforce (Whitaker 1979: 80-90), were men – seasonal workers who came from the villages in *Shopluk* and farther – from Eastern Serbia and Macedonia. They were predominantly builders who arrived in Sofia during early spring and found work at building sites in the quickly growing capital. Even at the end of the 19th century the *Dyulgerska Piazza* where men who had come “to earn for a living” gathered was active throughout the year (Hristov 2005: 86)**.** Both in Sofia and in Belgrade it was known that these masters had built the capitals of the newly liberated Balkan countries. They were easily noticed around the city with their traditional white clothes.

At the beginning of the 20th century, however, men began to change their traditional attire, at first including only some elements from the city clothing. This was particularly true for overcoats: on celebrations, for example the village holidays, men began to wear urban-fashioned coats on their traditional clothes known as “*mente*”. Together with this came the urban flat caps that replaced the traditional fur cap “*kalpak*”. The weird combination of traditional narrow white trousers “*benevretsi*”, white clothes and a modern coat was very typical for the first two decades of the 20th century. (Photos 1 and 2)

Government institutions had a notable influence on the change in men’s traditional attire. The peasants who worked at the Pernik Mine were given uniforms they were obliged to wear on official celebrations (Photo 3). Similarly, young men who returned from military service and the soldiers who returned from the First World War immediately began wearing urban clothes instead of their traditional attire (Veleva 1993: 133).

In the first decades of the 20th century, especially after the First World War, those clothes that were similar to urban ones were changed – the *benevretsi* were replaced with trousers (which was not dramatic due to the similar width of the garment) and the *mente* – with ready-made coats or overcoats. In their native villages, the new “urban” costume became a sign of the prestige that the men had acquired in the city (Photos 4 and 5). Thus, traditional seasonal labour of the men in the city became one of the ways for the penetration of urban attire and behaviour patterns into the village.



Photo 1.

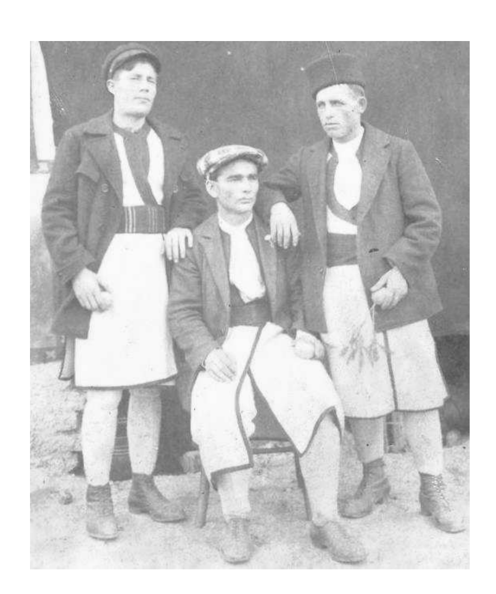


Photo 2.



Photo 3.

Unlike the traditional male suit, transformation processes for female attire were slower and underwent several stages until it became similar to the contemporary urban patterns – for some elderly women this did not occur until the second half of the 20th century.

This was due to the fact that traditionally women in *Shopluk* were less mobile, seldom left their home places and were mainly occupied with agricultural labour. The female version of the traditional seasonal hired work away from home was the seasonal migration of young women from the mountain villages to the lowlands during harvest (Hristov 2005: 87). This movement, however, was also restricted within the frames of agricultural labour and traditional cultural patterns, even within the same local "*Shop*" model.

The traditional male suit was preserved as ritual attire – in some of the villages young men kept their *benevretsi* and *mente* and wore them only on *Koleda* (Christmas) for their participation in the ritual bachelor tours in the village which granted them the social right to marry (Veleva 1993: 134-135).

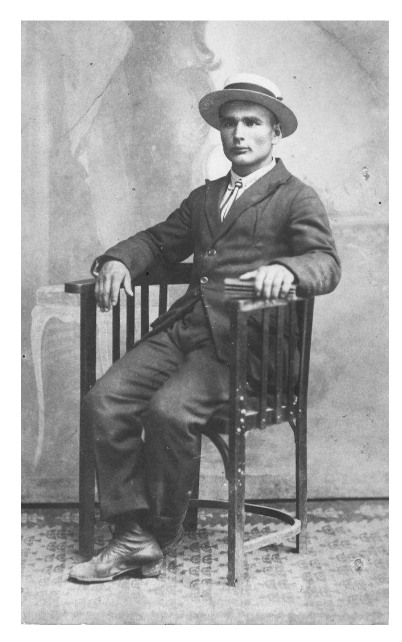


Photo 4.

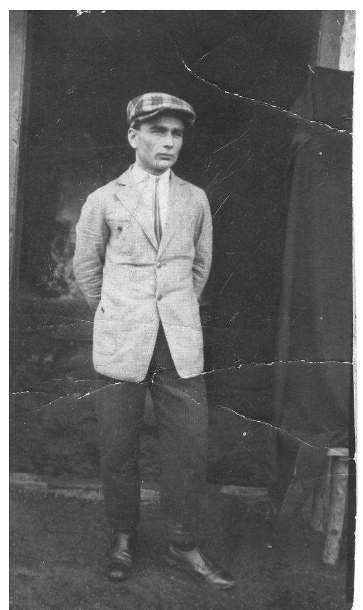


Photo 5

Still, female attire was also influenced by urban fashion. Unlike the changing male costume that acquired functional elements, the first changes in female attire were limited to decorations – manufactured haberdashery (beads, white and yellow wire, laces) and ornaments. This led to the substitution of hand-woven cloth with industrial – the traditional decoration with hand embroidery was replaced by the manufactured beads (*biser, munista*), fine metal braids (*tartar*) and imitation of small gold pieces (*dramche, payeta*), while the white sleeves and the shirt-front made of home-woven cloth were replaced with factory cotton gingham (*basma*) (Veleva 1993: 128, 132). Thus the first changes in the traditional female attire were dominated by the appearance of new materials on the market.

After the First World War local versions of the traditional female attire were similar to one type of dress that adapted (in terms of materials and especially decorations) to the contemporary factory and haberdasher production (Veleva 1993: 132). The cheaper and easier to produce "*znepolski litak*" (from the region of Tran in Midwestern Bulgaria), with ready-made decorations and no embroidery, gradually replaced the old traditional dress both in the Sofia region (Bulgaria) and in the neighboring regions of Serbia and Macedonia. (Photo 6)

In the decade before World War Two was noted the tendency for similarity between the female dress and urban attire, particularly – that of the capital. This was due to the fact that in the early decades of the 20th century a new form of female labour mobility became an important part of the life cycle and the socialisation of girls from the villages in the Shopluk. From the villages in the regions of Tran, Godech, Tsaribrod (today's Dimitrovgrad in Serbia), Vakarel and Samokov came most of the 9-to-15-year-old girls who became servants in the rich urban families.

When the girls reached the age of 15 or 16 they were taken back home in their villages so they could marry. According to my respondents, very rarely the maidservants stayed in the big city and got married in urban families. Successful marriages occurred in the villages; for the woman, this was the end of her interaction with urban behavioural patterns. She took home what she had learned at the lady's house in the city, however – recipes for different dishes, models of household maintenance and raising of the children, and, more and more often, an urban style of clothing (Hristov 2005: 87).

The connection between the traditional female attire with feast rituals remained, however, and the preserved holiday *litak* was worn during the traditional calendar and family celebrations, although for everyday use women already wore "urban" dresses (Veleva 1993: 133). The pictures from village celebrations in the 1930s show that, while the transition of the



Photo 6.

male attire to the modern urban costume was complete, the female holiday attire exhibited both the ready-made urban shirts, kerchief, shoes and the traditional *litak*. When traveling to the capital, however, the woman wore a complete urban suit. (Photos 7 and 8)

Family rituals were most conservative with regards to the traditional ritual attire. Although wearing a white veil (introduced in Bulgaria at the end of the 19th century – cf. Vasileva 1996: 158) in a Western fashion, brides always wore the traditional *litak*. (Photos 9) It was not until after World War Two that the *litak* in the bridal attire was replaced by the new urban wedding dress. Moreover, the dress, which was easier to maintain and was more comfortable in the new working conditions, also became the main attire for the elderly parents of the daughters who migrated to the capital. Traditional attire was only kept for the children who took part in the already modernized "traditional" rituals that were organized by village teachers. (Photo 10)



Photo 7

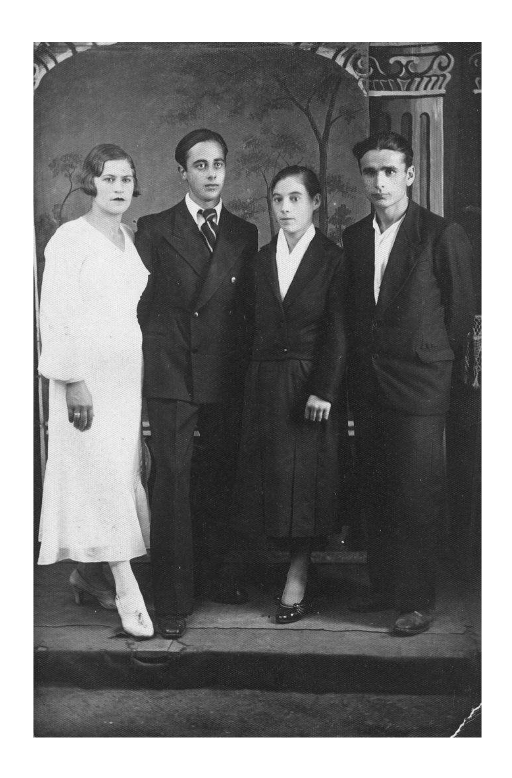


Photo 8



Photo 9



Photo 10

The changes in Bulgarian society after the end of the Second World War and the imposing of Soviet-type socialism led to deep transformations in the intimate life, the social appearance and the modes of behaviour as a whole in the village and the city. The mass (in some cases even forced) collectivization of the land changed entirely “the model of the world” for the Bulgarian peasant in the village, changing it from its traditional patriarchal way of life. After the 1950s the ratio between rural and urban population in Bulgaria drastically changed in favor of the quickly growing cities. Although now introduced to the new “socialist” urban environment, many of these women, born and socialized in their villages in the decade before World War Two, kept carefully for many years their traditional wedding *litaks* in order to take them to the grave – according to the old Bulgarian belief, husbands will recognize each other “on the other side” by their wedding costume.

This, however, is a topic for another research.

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CONTRIBUTORS

Robert BORN, Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas (GWZO) Leipzig/ Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Giulia CALVI, Professor, European Institute, Florence

Anastassia FALIEROU, Researcher, French Institute of Anatolian Studies, Istanbul

Petko HRISTOV, Senior Researcher, Ethnographic Institute with Museum, BAS, Sofia

Onur INAL, Teaching Assistant, Department of History, University of Arizona

Jean-Pierre LETHUILLIER, Professor, University of Rennes 2

Euphrosyne RIZOPOULOU-EGOUMENIDOU, Professor, University of Cyprus

Nina Katarina SIMONČIČ, Teaching Assistant, University of Zagreb

Ljljana STANKOV, Senior Curator, The Museum of Education, Belgrade

Maria-Magdalena SZÉKELY, Professor, Faculty of History, University of Iasi

Constanța VINTILĂ-GHIȚULESCU, Senior Researcher, Institute of History “Nicolae Iorga”, Bucharest, Associat Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Bucharest

Artemis YAGOU, Deputy MA Course Leader, AKTO Art and Design, Athens